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CONTAINING

Āzād-āl-Husaini's *Naubahār-i-Murshid*

QULI KHĀNI,

Karam 'Ali's *Muzaffarnāmah*,

and

Yusuf 'Ali's *Āhrwāl-i-Mahābat Jang*

Translated into English

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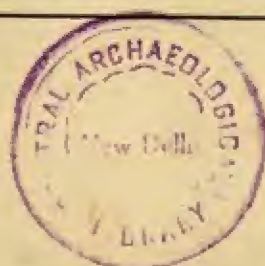
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P R E F A C E

REQUESTED by Dr. Meghnad Saha, F.R.S. (Eng.), President, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (1945), I submitted the following scheme for the best way of commemorating the 200th birth-year of Sir William Jones (1946). It would be a mistake to publish a Fest-schrift to mark the occasion, because such a bundle of detached essays on a variety of subjects and of diverse value, is of no use except to be consulted by some minute specialist once in two years, and the progress of research will render it obsolete in a decade or two. The only tribute worthy of Sir W. Jones and of the Society's gratitude to its founder would be the publication of a book or books of enduring value and very wide appeal, which every earnest student of Indian history would feel bound to keep at his elbow.

I suggest, instead of a Fest-schrift, a number of volumes forming a Corpus of the original sources of Bengal-Bihar history during the Muslim times; it will, in the main, include material not yet printed, but also a few sources, which are now available only in corrupt translations, should be printed in order to complete the series. The material should be mainly published in English translations.

1. Persian despatches and news-reports (*akhbārāt*) relating to Murshid Quli Khan—(MSS. ~~and~~ ^{and} English translations with Sir J. Sarkar).

2. A new, correct, and complete translation of Salimullah's *Tārīkh-i-Bangālā*, replacing Gladwin's unreliable version "A Narrative of Transactions . . ." (Calcutta, 1788).

3. An English translation of Yusuf Ali's *Tārīkh-i-Mahābat Jang* (the full history of Alivardi Khan).

4. An English version of *Fathīyya-i-'Ibrīyya* (or Mir Jumla's conquest of Assam and Cooch Bihar) with its supplement preserved in the Bodleian MS. and treating of Shāista Khan's conquest of Chātgaon. See *J.A.S.B.* 1872 Pt. 1 No. 1 (Blochmann) and 1906-7 (J. Sarkar).

5. (a) Description of Bengal in 1608-9 by Abdul Latif (trans by Sarkar in *Bengal Past and Present*).

(b) Bengal-Orissa official letters written by Abul Hasan, 1656-1667. (Rampur MS. copy with J. Sarkar).

(c) *Mufid-ul-insha*.

6. A new English translation of the most authoritative and interesting portion of *Siyar-ul-Mutākhharin*, namely, from Alivardi's accession to the fall of Sirāj-ud-daulah,—with elucidations and corrections from the Marathi records, English factory correspondence, French despatches (printed), and other Persian sources. The printed Persian text of the entire book, *Seezar-ool-Mutakh-reen*, ed. by Hukeem Abdool Mujeed, Calcutta Medical Press, in 1833, contains 420 plus 115 pages, 36 lines per page, each line 7 inches long. The portion selected by me for translation covers pp 100-233 of the first Book.

Siyar (Calcutta, 1833 edition).

Book I pp. 1-99, *Delhi History, 1707-1739*.

Book I pp. 100-233, *Alivardi and Siraj*.

Book I pp. 233-420, *Delhi and Bengal History down to 1785*.

Book II pp. 1-115, *Delhi, Nizam, Marathas etc. 1740-1784*.

The third section of Book I 233-420 pp. is also important and interesting, but its translation should be taken up last of all.

The above scheme was accepted by the Council of the R.A.S.B and the work has been started. Most fortunately, the then Governor Mr. Richard Casey, sanctioned an annual grant of ten thousand rupees for five years from the Bengal revenue, to carry the scheme to completion.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

NAU-BAHĀR-I-MURSHID QULI KHĀNI

By ĀZĀD-ĀL-HUSAINI

INTRODUCTION

When the famous Bengal subahdar Jafar Khan Nasiri (popularly known by his first title Murshid Quli Khan I) died on 30th June 1727, his son-in-law Shujā-ud-din Muhammad Khan succeeded him as imperial viceroy of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and sent his own son-in-law Mirza Lutfullah surnamed Murshid Quli II and Rustam Jang, to Dacca as deputy governor of the eastern half of the Bengal subah. The new deputy governor landed at Dacca on the 1st day, 29th April 1728. Next year he was presented by a learned but poor emigrant Persian named Azād-al-Husaini with a prose book of his own composition, entitled *Nau-bahār-i Murshid Quli Khāni*, full of good counsels, anecdotes and fulsome praise of his patron,—with pathetic appeals to save him from starvation by granting him a literary pension.

The manuscript is a small one, only 65 written folios, 6½ inches by 4 inches, each page containing only 9 lines, 2½ inches in length. This was evidently the original autograph copy, as no other ms. of it is known to exist. The story of its migrations is very interesting. Our author's patron Rustam Jang was transferred from Dacca to Orissa as deputy governor in 1734, and here he remained till 1741. But Alivardi Khan having seized the Nawabi of Bengal by killing Shujā-ud-din's son and successor Sarfaraz Khan (10th April 1740), Rustam Jang was goaded on by his wife Dardana Begam and his own son-in-law Mirza Bāqar to declare war on the usurper. Defeated in a battle near Balasore (on 3rd May 1741), Rustam Jang with his entire family fled away to Masulipatam in a ship which he had kept ready at hand during the battle, and after the failure of a second attempt to recover Orissa took refuge at the Court of the first Nizam Asaf Jāh.

The arrival of these fugitives is thus described in the Court history of the Asaf Jāhs [*Hadīqat-ul-ālam*, ii. 173]:—

"In the year 1155 A.H. (1742 A.D.) Asaf Jāh came to Haidarabad and after spending some time in making administrative arrangements, returned to Aurangabad. At this time Mirzā Bāqar Ali Khan, the son-in-law of Murshid Quli Khan II . . . had the honour of waiting on him. After a few days Murshid Quli himself arrived there and received the Nizām's favour. Murshid Quli's wife and Shujā-ud-daula (*sic*)'s daughter, known as the *Bangālī Begam*, was honoured with the title of *Mehmān Begam* (Guest Princess.)"

In the course of time this family fell into deepening distress through unemployment and poverty ; their belongings including this manuscript were sold, probably at Burhanpur which was a great centre of Persian culture and Sufi studies in the late 18th century. It was purchased by jagirdar Parasnis of Poona, the Peshwa's hereditary Persian secretary and a master of Persian correspondence. After the fall of the Peshwas (1818) this ms. along with many other Persian works of the highest importance (though not to history), migrated to the Poona house of the Jagirdar Parasnis. In 1949 the historical records in the Persian language held by this family as the Peshwas' Persian secretaries and news-agents, after lying neglected and partly damaged for 130 years, were purchased by the Bombay Government for Rs. 7,000. Most fortunately for us their 40 choice Persian mss. were thrown in with the newsletters, reports, &c., and I discovered this little book of unique value to Bengal history, when I was invited by the Bombay Government to inspect and report on the collection.

A few significant anecdotes of the Mughal governors of Bengal, supplied by this book, are given below.

I. MIR JUMLA'S STRICT JUSTICE (1660-62)

When Mir Jumla Alamgiri was in residence at Khizrpur in Dacca, one of his servants called into his house a woman curd-seller and took from her a quantity of curd without payment, and ate it with his meal. The owner immediately afterwards lodged a complaint before the Nawab, whose practice it was to sit on the bastion facing the river and permit all plaintiffs, high and low alike, who wore no arms, to come to him without hindrance and say their say. The governor summoned the accused, who denied the charge. He was given an emetic and the curd came out of him with the vomitted food. The Nawab ordered the offender's belly to be slashed and exposed his body on the field of Khizrpur as a warning to others. This act of justice struck such terror that no one durst rob even a straw.

II. ANECDOTES OF MUHAMMAD AZAM SHAH, SON OF ALAMGIR (1678-1679)

This prince was very fond of luxury and prodigal of expenditure in his mode of life. One day he was riding out when he saw on the road side a knot of people engaged in making their humble preparations for a marriage. He asked his entourage, "Could not these men

get more decorations?" They replied, "They are too poor to do more". The prince rejoined, "These men will grieve and say, 'The Emperor's son visited our marriage celebration, and yet we received no bounty from him!'" So he ordered a purse to be given to them!

When he was out on travel, he used to carry with him on the backs of elephants, some wooden boxes full of water, containing gold and silver fish, and when he dismounted, he set up before his tent a level garden and cisterns of copper full of water with fountains working in them, and let the fish loose in them to freely move about!

During his governorship of Bengal, he lived at Dacca for one year, and issued certain ordinances whose effects are still to be seen. One of them was this:—In Dacca during the heavy rains, much mud used to collect and men, horses and elephants found travelling very difficult. Azam Shah ordered a road to be laid with brick. In his time this road was so well laid that men on foot could easily travel on it during the monsoons. The Bengalis who had never seen a brick-paved road before, wondered at the sight and rejoiced. This practice continues even now, and many well-to-do men have laid down brick-covered roads. arch

Near the Badshahi fort of Dacca there was a marsh, where people used to snare [aquatic] birds. Inside the fort there was no place for the public audience except the Rang Mahal and the Hall of Forty Pillars built by Amir-ul-umara Shaista Khan. Azam Shah had this marsh filled up in a short time and erected on the site a lofty Hall of Public Audience with a very spacious floor area, surrounded by four walls, and a band-room. These buildings had fallen down in the course of time, but Murshid Quli II had them repaired.

The Chowk (market square) of Dacca had not been constructed in Azam Shah's time. Nawab Murshid Quli II. has now (1729) made the Chowk so nicely as to delight the heart. Azam Shah, by abolishing the octroi duty (*mahsul*) made all things cheap in the town. Betel leaf and tobacco, which were comparatively dear, were reduced in price [by him] and the reduction still continues. Grain was so cheapened that for one-eighth of a *jital*¹ a *pucca seer* of rice and other kinds of grain could be bought [at that time]. But owing to the passage of time and the change of governors, grain has again turned its face to dearth. Murshid Quli Khan has now brought down the price. Jup.

¹ Our author, a recent *émigré* from Persia, has clearly made a mistake about the Indian currency. As 25 *jitals* make one *dām* and 40 *dāms* a rupee, his words would give 200 maunds of paddy for a rupee, an incredible statement. I read *dām* for *jital* in the text, which would give eight maunds to the rupee, an admitted rate at Dacca in Shaistakhan's time (c. 1680-88.)

III. CHITTAGONG OUTPOST RESTORED

How Murshid Quli II. restored the *thānah* (fortified base) of Islamabad [Chatgaon] which had been broken up during the governorship of Muhammad Bāqar, when the Arracanese with their numberless boats had attacked the post and its environs and taken away some thousands of people as captives and sold them in the Feringī territory. Murshid Quli II. sent Mir Muhammad Hādi, with Muhammad Sādiq and an army to guard this *thānah*. And in the season of floods, which is the usual time of the enemy's attacks, he sent Mir Habibullah with Zulqadar Kh., Md. Hāshim, the youthful Sirājuddīn Md. (the son of Jān Md. Kh.) there. Behind them Mir Sayyid Ali was detached to remain on the watch near the *thānah* of Feni, which was the rear base (*bungāh*) of the above *thānah* (i.e., Chatgāon). People say that no one had seen such a vast army assembled there before. The general on reaching Chatgaon, restored the outpost with such firmness that the enemy in fear of him remained in hiding in their own land, and God's creatures were saved by this wise contrivance of the Nawab. [Folios 23a—25a.]

IV. MURSHID QULI II's CONQUEST OF TIPARA

Tipara is a country extremely strong by reason of the abundance of its trees, the loftiness of its forts, and the difficulty of its roads. The Raja is proud of his strength and the practices of conchblowing and idol-worship prevailed there. Sultan Shujā during his governorship [of Bengal], left his eldest son Zain-ud-din Md. as his deputy [in Rājmahal], came to Dacca, and sent his chief minister Jān Beg Kh. towards Tipara; but the Khan's men failed to take any of the forts of that country even after labouring for one year. At last he had to content himself with annexing the district of Mirzāpur, and making it the frontier of the imperial dominions. Many of his soldiers died of disease from the badness of the air. When he reported this fact, Prince Shujā recalled the expedition. Therefore, great āmirś like Mir Jumla and Shāista Khan never cherished the idea of conquering Tipara. Ibrāhim Kh. had gone towards that country, but returned after making peace.

Murshid Quli II. decided to conquer Tipara and put down idolatry there. He wrote to Sayyid Habibullah (the commander-in-chief), Md. Sādiq, Mir Hāshim, Shaikh Sirājuddīn Md., and Mahdī Beg, who were then engaged in the Chittagong expedition, that as the rainy season was over, they should set out with their forces, observing every precaution, arrive close to the kingdom of Tipara, and try to conquer it.

Jān Md. Khan, with Sayyid Fath Rafiq, Shaikh Mubārak Muhi-uddin, Wali Beg and other heroes was sent [from Dacca] towards Tipara. Next Jawānmard Ali Khan with troops and military stores was appointed to go to the frontier of the Kuki tribe, strengthen that frontier, and advancing thence to near Jaintia, close the path of help by those tribes to the zamindar of Tipara. Thereafter he sent Shaikh Azizullah [text defective]. . . .

After reading the Nawāb's letter the commander-in-chief [Habibullah] set out for Tipara with a vast army. By daily marches he reached a place close to a village full of enemy troops. Here he prepared his halting place by cutting the trees down. Shaikh Muhibullah Kotwāl who had been sent by the Nawāb, arrived here with a convoy of artisans such as stone-cutters, carpenters, miners, battery-builders, fire-workers, water-carriers, [hut-] builders, farriers, surgeons (*binā dozān*), barbers, and tailors,—and provisions of grain, sheep, goats, *ghee*, &c., as well as cooked bread (*nān*, *chapāti*?), bread of fine flour (*kalicha*) and whey (*panir*). These supplies refreshed the army.

Md. Sādiq started with muskets, guns, rockets and artillerymen for reconnoitring a way, but after being separated from the main army he did not know where he was going. Owing to the abundance of hillocks and hollows, it was difficult for horses to advance; our soldiers penetrated into the jungle on foot, and after walking for 20 kos they reached a place which was extremely difficult to traverse. Here they saw some ruined houses, and searching in them discovered some rice. Water and food were very unobtainable, till at last this detachment had to eat the leaves of trees. By a fast courier they sent a report of their condition to Mir Habibullah, saying that they were at death's door through hardship and famine. Mir Habib immediately sent to them raw and cooked food and leather bags full of water.

Md. Sādiq, heartening his troops by distributing these provisions, advanced, till he reached a low place facing a lofty mound, on which the Tipara soldiers were standing ready. They opened fire on the Nawab's troops; Md. Sādiq ordered his sappers to dig a covered lane quickly. Under the shelter of this he reached the foot of the fort [wall] and threw inside it some iron wedges tied with ropes. When these weights became fixed in the trees, Md. Sādiq and his heroes climbed up by seizing the ropes, slew the Tipara soldiers, and gained the fort. In this battle some of our men were slain and Karim Beg displayed great bravery. Sādiq entrenched there, and wrote asking Mir Habibullah to come and occupy the post. This was the first victory of the Nawāb. Habib arrived there and reported the success to his master [at Dacca.]

Md. Sādiq, leaving Sayyid Habib there, advanced through the

jungle. Suddenly a man was seen ; seizing him, Md. Sādiq questioned him. The man replied that after making some marches through that wilderness they would arrive opposite the fort, which the zamindar of Tipara had made his base and filled with war materials. Md. Sādiq, after reassuring this man, took him as his guide, followed the path through the jungle pointed out by him, and arriving near this fort, began to entrench. In the course of one night a very strong entrenchment with elevated sides was thrown up.

Next morning he delivered battle to the garrison of the fort. At first there was much firing of guns and rockets on both sides, and the Tipara soldiers did not shrink from fighting in disregard of death. Md. Sādiq came out of the shelter of his trenches. Our heroes broke down the walls of this strong post, entered in and fell on the garrison like tigers on a herd of deer. The defenders were all encircled and slain.

Md. Sādiq repaired the damaged parts of the fort and reported to Sayyid Habibullah, who advanced from his base after leaving some heroes to hold it strongly, and joined Md. Sādiq. A council was held and it was decided to advance only when the army sent by the Nawāb from behind should have reached Mirzāpur, and reinforced Hāji Md. Taqi, the deputy faujdar of that place, and also Jawān-mardān [*sic*] Ali Kh., who had been detached to hold in check the Kuki and Jaintia tribes should have arrived on that frontier.

So, Jān Md. Kh., with a countless host advancing by the public road, appeared before the forts of the enemy. Jawān-mard Ali Kh. with his troops, advancing like the wind of death, came to the place where Mir Habibullah was stopping, saw him, and then went away to the Kuki and Jaintia frontier and stood there like the rampart of Alexander. This Khan had distinguished himself by his bravery also in the Deccan wars.

When the arrival of Jān Md. Kh. and his army at Mirzāpur became known, the warriors [in Mir Habib's post] being composed in mind [about their rear], resumed their advance, leaving their halting-place in charge of other troops. They covered long distances, sometimes riding, sometimes on foot. The pen cannot describe the hardships they had to undergo from the abundance of trees and rocks. After traversing fourteen kos of the way, they arrived at the bank of a river, entrenched and planting guns for safety, rested for some days. Then Mir Habibullah and Md. Sādiq and other heroes plunged into the river and set out on advance. Their soldiers, at the sight of their bravery followed them across the water. On reaching the opposite bank they offered thanks to God. The pen cannot describe their sufferings in the water. Then they entrenched on the further

bank. The garrison of Udaipur, which was the capital of their ruler, on hearing of the crossing of the river by the Muslim army, with all their war-materials and entrenching on that side, lost heart and many of them fled away. The Raja reassured them, but to no effect.

Meantime the corps under Jān Md. Kh. by rapid marches, arrived opposite the fort of Chandigarh which is the enemy's greatest fort, and began to attack it with guns and muskets. The garrison fought to the utmost, but their sardār was killed in fighting with our heroes and his head was sent to the Nawab who ordered it to be hung opposite the gate of the Chauk at Dacca. The men of the fort, on hearing of the fate of their commander, lost heart and vacated the fort. When the Islamic army conquered Chandigarh, the troops of Tipara in fear vacated two other forts and took post in Ghāzigarh. Fight was raging between them and Jān Md. Kh., when in the morning [next day?] Sayyid Habibullah, Md. Sādiq, Md. Hāshim and Sirājuddin Md. with other heroes on horseback, with their artillery men in front, entered the city of Udaipur, and coming near the citadel which was the residence of their governor, opened a heavy fire with all kinds of firearms.

The Tipara soldiers did not fail to fight regardless of death. The Muslim troops invested the fort from four sides. A severe battle was fought. The zamindar's men lay dead in heaps. The victors entered the fort. Dharma Mānikya, the zamindar of the place, in terror abandoned his women and fled away from the fort to hide himself in the jungles near the place. Our heroes gave chase, and after some search caught him and took him to Mir Habibullah. At the same time Jān Md. Kh. and his comrades also arrived there. The Tipara troops on hearing of these events, abandoned fort Ghāzigarh and dispersed on all sides. The flag of Murshid Quli Khan was unfurled on the top of fort Udaipur. The Muslims raised the cry of *Allahu-ākbar* and the Muslim credo (There is no deity except Allah and Muhammad is His messenger), and demolished the temple of the zamindar which had long been the seat of idol-worship. Making a level courtyard on the side of the temple, they read the *Khutba* in the Emperor's name. In the mint of Tipara they stamped dinārs and dirhams of gold and silver bearing the name of the Khalif of the Age. The world-illuminating sun of the faith of Muhammad swept away the dark night of infidelity, and the bright day of Islām dawned.

The Nawāb, on getting the despatches of this victory, sent his commander-in-chief Muhammad Ishāq to Tipara to convey his praise to Mir Habibullah and the other heroes, and to tell Sayyid Habibullah to conduct the zamindar in a befitting manner to Dacca after leaving

Md. Sādiq and Md. Mahdi in charge of Tipara. Md. Ishāq and 'Atā Beg the mace-bearer, went to Tipara and gave the heroes the commendations and rewards of the Nawāb.

Mir Habibullah had his audience with the Nawab, in company with the zamindar, on 29th Ramzān in the 11th year of the Emperor's reign [1141 A.H.], 18 April, 1729. Jawān-mard Ali Kh. with Sardub Raj the zamindar [? the last Tipara King's son] who had taken shelter with him, also had the honour of kissing the Nawāb's threshold. The Nawāb celebrated a double I'd (rejoicing) on account of this victory and ordered Mir Sayyid Ali and Mir Md. Zamān to distribute one thousand rupees to the needy. There was profuse scattering of coins on the I'd day and during the procession to the *I'd-gāh*, one *kos* from the *qila* of Dacca, [19 April.] The Nawāb graciously ordered the zamindār of Tipara to be detained in the fort of Dacca in a good place and supplied with food and garments. The date of the victory is given by the words *TIBRA MAFTUH* = 1141 A.H., or 1729 A.D.

The above is the history of the Tipara expedition as given by the contemporary Azād-al-Husaini in the very year of the conquest and writing from Dacca. Thirty-four years later Salimullah, writing for Governor Vansittart, gives some additional information, which I quote here from Gladwin's translation of that historian's *Tārīkh-i-Bangālāh*:—

"Mir Habib Shirāzy having formed an intimacy with Murshid Quli Khan II at Murshidabad, accompanied him to Jahangirnagar; and there became his deputy. Mir Habib was very industrious in office, and made considerable retrenchment in the *Nawwāra* (Bengal war flotilla) and other expensive establishments; and also acquired great sums for his master by conducting various monopolies. He treacherously put to death Nurullah, the zamindar of Jalālpur [= Faridpur] and confiscated his property. . . . He set on foot an expedition against Tipara, under the immediate management of Aqā Sādiq, the zamindar of Pātpasār. . . . The son of the late Raja of Tipara having been expelled by his uncle, he joined Aqā Sādiq; and Mir Habib gave him hopes of obtaining the zamindari. He conducted the troops through the passes and over the fords of the rivers into Tipara; when the Raja, unable to make opposition, took refuge in the mountains, leaving Mir Habib in quiet possession of the country. Mir Habib placed strong garrisons in different parts, conferred the zamindari upon the Raja's nephew, and appointed Aqā Sādiq faujdar. After which he returned to Jahāngir-nagar with the treasure and plunder, and a great number of elephants. . . . Shujā Khan

named Tipara *Raushanābād* or the City of Light." (This narrative is copied by G. H. Salim in his *Riyāz-us-Salātin*, text, 299-301, who merely adds that Chandigarh fort, the abode of the Tipara Raja, was stormed after a fight.)

How Rustam Jang suppressed robbers.—Ghani, a captain of banditti and murderers, who lived in the environs of Dacca, made the lives of the inhabitants unbearable. Rustam Jang sent his soldiers in small parties and in disguise to search for him. They made secret inquiries. None suspecting who these men were and what their aim was, the soldiers reached the home (*bungah*) of the culprit, fought and captured him, and brought him away to the Nawab who hanged him on the four sides of the Chawk at Dacca. Next the spies traced out and seized Shakur, the brother of Ghani, and thus the robber band was broken up.

MUZAFFAR-NĀMAH

By KARAM ALI

INTRODUCTION

Of Nawāb Aliwardi Khan's career before he seized the throne of Bengal in April 1740, we know nothing from his two well-known histories, namely, Yusuf Ali's *Ahwāl-i-Mahābat Jang* and Ghulām Husain Tabātabāi's *Siyar-ul-mulākharin*. A few of his doings as deputy governor of Bihar (1733-1739) are given in one sentence by Salimullah in his *Tārikh-i-Bangāla*. Recently Professor Sayyid H. Askari, M.A. (of Patna College), has drawn our attention to a hitherto unknown Persian history of Bengal which throws full light on this period of Alivardi's career, and I shall give here a translation of it. The author was Karam Ali of Patna, and his book narrates the history of Bengal and Bihar from 1722 to 1772.

The book is named *Muzaffar-nāmah* after the author's patron Muhammad Razā Khan entitled Muzaffar Jang, who was made deputy subahdar of Bengal by the English, but removed from office in 1772. Only one manuscript of the work is known to exist. It belongs to Qāzi Abdul Wadud, B.A. (Cantab). Bar-at-law (Patna) and covers 118 royal quarto folios, with 19 lines to the page. This copy was transcribed by Dāim Ali of Muner at Benares on 14th August, 1827.

In the year 1147 A.H. (1734-35) the author's father came from Delhi to Patna at the call of Alivardi Khan, then deputy governor of Bihar, and on proceeding to Bengal was appointed news-writer of the *Chakla* of Bardwān by the Nawāb Shujā' Khan, on Rs. 200 a month. This post went out of the possession of the family in 1772 (f. 8a). Karam Ali was born on 31 October, 1736 in "the *balda* of Bengal" (by which the city of Murshidabad is meant.) In 1741, Alivardi, now Nawāb of Bengal, granted the author (a boy in his fifth year) a monthly subsistence of Rs. 50, which he enjoyed till 1772. The author's father accompanied Alivardi in his expeditions (f. 37a). In 1748 Karam Ali was appointed faujdār of Ghoraghāt (f. 37b), and this post he held up to the death of Alivardi in 1756, though frequently absent from his charge. He was with Shaukat Jang in Purnia, when the latter was killed in October 1756, but escaped from the wrath of Sirāj-ud-daula on account of the influence of his mother in that Nawāb's harem. Later he took refuge in Patna, where his family still survives.

Ghulām Husain Tabātabāi was born in 1140 (1727-28) at Delhi and migrated to Murshidabad in 1732-33, and next to Patna along with Alivardi in 1733. Here he lived (except for a journey to Delhi, August 1743—November 1744.) In 1749 he was appointed tutor to Shaukat Jang and lived in Purnia till the fall of that Nawab in October 1756, when he fled away to Benares. He attained to great influence and wealth as the friend of the English sāhibs during Mir Qāsim's rule and after, and his book proves him a man of much higher intellectual and social status than poor, "out of employment" Karam Ali.

TRANSLATION

[2a]. The birth of Alivardi Khan took place in the household of Prince Md. 'Azam Shah [a son of Aurangzib], by reason of his mother being [employed] there in perfect honour and dignity. [2b]. His father, Shāh Quli Khan, was superintendent of the Prince's gold-ware department. 'Azam Shah used often to predict that this infant would soon become a ruler. . . .¹

[4a] Alivardi Khan, after Prince 'Azam Shāh had been slain [on 8th June 1707] and [his own] property plundered, came to Delhi and passed his days in extreme poverty, often going without a meal. He used at times to visit the house of Rāi Bāl Kishan, the father of Rajah Jugal Kishore. Hāji Sāhib, the elder brother of His Excellency, after [4b] the death of Muhammad 'Azam Shah went towards Mecca and lived for some time in that country in great composure of mind. Things went on thus till the early years of the reign of Muhammad Shah Padishah.

Alivardi Khan goes to Nawab Shujā' Khan in Orissa.—Nawab Shujā' Khan was the son's son of Nawāb 'Aqil Khan, and descended from the same grandfather (*jadd*) as Alivardi. Having been married to the daughter of Nawāb Ja'far Khan the subahdār of Bengal, he became estranged from Nawāb Ja'far Khan by reason of his dissolute character [*āwābāshi*] and unworthy manners, and went away to Delhi. Ja'far Khan wrote as a plaintiff to the Emperor accusing Shujā' Khan of having peculated some lakhs of *mohars*. Shujā' Khan, taking warning from this charge, by the advice of Amir-ul-umara Khān-i-Daurān, secured from the Emperor the post of subahdar of Orissa,

¹ Yusuf Ali (my ms. p. 1) states, "His father Mirzā Muhammad Madani was silānchi in the establishment of Prince Md. 'Azam Shah. . . . Ten years after Mirzā Ahmad (i.e., Hāji Sāhib), Mirzā Md. Ali was born (afterwards Alivardi.) On coming of age, he was appointed to the charge of the Prince's butlery (*ābdār-khānah*). Salimullah (a violent anti-Shia), tells a different story (Calcutta 1906 reprint, p. 76.)

and in the year 1131 A.H. [1719 A.D.] went to that province and engaged in ruling it. Shāh Qulī Khan, the father of Alivardi, accompanied him, and after a year begged the Nawāb and sent from him a *parwāna* summoning his son. Alivardi sold the jewels of his wife for nine hundred rupees, and with the money hired a cart for his women and bought a horse for himself for Rs. 300, took with himself Faqr-ullah Beg and Nurullah Beg, who were his old servants (*Khānahzād*) and arrived in Orissa in the year 1132 [1720 A.D.] to meet Shujā' Khan. After a few days, in which he displayed his great intelligence and wisdom, he was appointed thānahdār of Sāwantrāpur with the title of Muhammad Alivardi Khan, on a jāgir of six-sadi [mansabdār.] [5a]

The thānah of Sāwantrāpur is situated in the midst of hills and jungles, on the frontier of the Rajahs of Keonjhar, Ankhar and Dhen Kanā,¹ all three of whom were in rebellion against the subahdār. Alivardi established his rule over that thānah very easily and brought the Rajahs to obey him by his good behaviour. In the year 1133, Hāji Sāhib, as summoned, arrived from Delhi before Nawab Shujā' Khan, with his mother and children, and Mirzā Ghulām Husain, Mirzā Khairullah Beg, Mirzā Dāwar Qulī and other hereditary servants, but did not agree to accept any post except that of remaining with the Nawāb day and night. Securing offices for his sons according to their qualifications, he exerted himself to the utmost to increase the rank of his dear brother. And Alivardi by the strength of his knowledge and administrative power swept the whole land of Orissa clear of disturbers of peace, slaying many of them. In the battles of Khalikot and Thānah Malud, he did heroic exertions. When Shujā' Khan became free from the conquest of that tract, he ordered Alivardi to attack Kujang, a fort situated in the midst of some islands of the ocean. Alivardi, on account of certain [natural] obstacles, invested the fort for full three years before he could capture it.

Details of this brief statement.—When three years passed away without the fort being captured and Nawāb Shujā' Khan became displeased, Alivardi came alone to the presence of the Nawāb and after much talk brought him to the fort, and by his wise counsel caused a letter to be written to the Rajah inviting him [5b] to surrender in order to save himself from destruction, in which case he would be highly favoured. The Rajah, in reply to this message came out of his fort to offer his submission, he was taken by Alivardi to Nawāb Shujā'

¹ Sāwantrāpur, given as santrapur in Sterling's *Orissa*. Keonjhar 21°37'N 85°38'E. Ankhar is evidently a copyist's error for Angul. Khalikot, 15 m. n. of Ganjam town. Malud, south of the Chilka lake. Kujang, on an arm of the sea, 20°14'N. 86°31'E.

Khan, and returned pleased. Shujā' Khan was so pleased with this success that he highly favoured Alivardi and ordered him to remain in that country for some time as its governor (*sāhib*.)

In the year 1139 A.H., when the news of the death of Ja'far Khan [on 30th June, 1727] and the usurpation of Nawāb Sarāfrāz Khan reached Nawāb Shujā' Khan, and he also heard that Nawāb 'Alā-ud-daula [Sarāfrāz] had declared that if Shujā' Khan came to that side he would oppose him by arms, Nawāb Shujā' Khan became distracted in mind thinking that a fight between father and son was quite improper. But Hāji Sāhib gave him this advice: "The words of the common people have not yet got hold of Sarāfrāz's mind; he is your son; his mother is alive and present with him. You ought to go there as quickly as possible." At this time a letter arrived from the Begam who was living in Murshidabad, asking Shujā' Khan to reach Murshidabad with the utmost speed.

Nawab Shujā' Khan left his son Muhammad Naqi Khan, who was the offspring of a different mother from Sarāfrāz's, as his deputy subahdār of Orissa, and very promptly started for Bengal at the height of the rainy season. Hāji Ahmad Sāhib and Shāh Quli Khan were his companions in this journey, but Alivardi Khan, on account of the monsoon and the excess [6a] of mud, could not join there from the district of Kujang.

Nawāb Shujā' Khan arrived in Bengal and sat on the seat of the governor, making his son Sarāfrāz Khan his deputy. Alivardi Khan, by order of the Nawab, reached Bengal at the end of the rainy season, and was first given the work of commanding the escort for conveying the imperial revenue and the escheated property of Nawab Ja'far Khan from Bengal to the frontier of Patna. After his return from this duty, in the year 1140 [1727-1728 A.D.] he was appointed faujdar of Rājmahal, which lies on the frontier of Bengal. In that very year Nawab Sirāj-ud-daulah was born. Alivardi Khan chose the new-born infant as his son, and ordered him to be always kept with himself. In the four years of his faujdār-ship, he subjugated by sweetness and harshness all the hill-people around Rājmahal—who were in the habit of robbing the traders and wayfarers, and he thus made them obedient to his orders and threw the ways open to traffic.

In this period some Hindus of the Bhāt tribe descended from the hills and reported to Alivardi Khan, "After many years this wonderful event has happened: innumerable snakes have assembled in a body for hearing their praise from our tongues, and many of them carry rupees and mohars in their mouths, which they give to us to suffice for our needs in future so that we may not have to beg of other people, lest they should kill us." Alivardi disbelieved in the story.

But the author has [66] heard from eye-witnesses that this account is true!

In this period, Alivardi Khan's father died at the age of 67 years. His tomb is in Rājmaḥal.

Alivardi attains to the deputy subahdarship of Patna.—For four years Nawāb Shujā' Khan used to remit every year a krór of rupees, nay more, to the Emperor through Nawāb Khan-i-Daurān, and thus gained great trust and honour. By the advice of Hāji Sāhib and Alivardi, he made a petition for the subahdari of 'Azimabad, which was held by Fakhr-ud-daulah. A *parwāna* arrived from the Emperor, dismissing Fakhr-ud-daulah and a sanad appointing Shujā' Khan to the post. Nawāb Shujā' Khan wrote to Ghulām Ali Khan, the comrade of Fakhr-ud-daulah, to look after the administration of the province for a short time pending the arrival of a permanent deputy subahdār, and appointed Ahsanullah as his deputy in the subah. The last-named died two or three days after this; and as all affairs, great and small, of the realm were decided by the advice of Hāji Sāhib, Alivardi Khan was appointed deputy governor of Bihar. [7a] In the year 1145 A.H. [1732-1733 A.D.] he reached Patna after a few days' journey.

He cherished the troops and the ryots by his good administration, and in a short time made all rebels and turbulent persons obedient to him. The business of the imperial revenue was entrusted to diwān Chintāman-dās and that of the Nawāb's [*jāgirs*] to Rajāh Jānkirām. Mirzā Mirak was appointed as his Bakhshi; Mirzā Dāwar Qulī dārogha of the *jinsi* artillery, Haidar Ali Khan dārogha of the *dastī* artillery, Ghulām Husain Khan dārogha of the *diwān khānah*, Faqir-ullah Beg Khan *Kotwāl*, Nurullah Beg Khan dārogha of the elephants and the *nakhās* mahāls.

In the same year, after the departure of Alivardi Khan to Patna, Nawāb Shujā' Khan conferred the faujdāri of Rājmaḥal on 'Atā-ullah Khan, the younger son-in-law of Hāji Sāhib, and the mahāl of Rangpur on Nawāb Saulat Jang.

Alivardi's expedition against the rebels of Bhojpur.—As the zamindars of Bhojpur used to delay in the utmost degree in paying the Government revenue, and as highway robbery, the practice of this tribe, had reached the extreme point, and they lived in full predominance,—Alivardi Khan set out for that side without delay, in the year 1146. The rebels stood up to a fight, as they used to do with the former subahdārs, but being now beaten, took to flight and went into hiding; many of them were slain and some taken prisoner; the strong places of these [7b] people were devastated; their zamindars fled away to Ghāzipur, secured mediators, paid the large

arrears of revenue due from them, and after giving bonds that in future they would never commit such misdeeds returned to their homes. Alivardi returned victorious to his headquarters.

Alivardi's expedition to the mahāl of Bettia and some other occurrences.—

The Rajah of Bettia¹ was the foremost rebel of Bihar and used to give trouble to the army chiefs. In the year 1147 [1735 A.D.] Alivardi Khan appointed Nawāb Shahāmat Jang with an army to chastise these men, 'Abdul Karim Khan Afghān being ordered to support him. The country was covered with a dense forest. But the invaders made their way through the jungle to the Rajah's fort, where he had taken refuge, being unable to meet the Government troops in an open fight. Shahāmat Jang laid siege to the fort and dug a mine under its tower. When 'Abdul Karim Khan went into the mine to inspect it, the mine collapsed in some places and it also rained so heavily for two or three days that it became impossible for Abdul Karim Khan to move about. After two days, when the earth was dug up in an attempt to recover his bones, he came [84] out alive and safe. The Rajah of Bettia in fear fled away from his fort to the distant hills, though the fort had a wet ditch too deep to be forded anywhere. Thence he sent envoys.

The Nawab's troops after desolating many villages of that tract and slaying the unruly men, gathered much booty, arranged for the administration of that mahāl, and returned to him. This victory led to the great honouring of Abdul Karim Khan, which raised his pride to the highest pitch.

In the same year 1147 A.H. [1734-1735 A.D.] the author's parents came from Delhi on being summoned by Alivardi Khan; after meeting him they left for Bengal in order to see Hāji Sāhib. After interviewing Nawāb Shujā' Khan my father was, through the mediation of Hāji Sāhib, granted Rs. 200 a month in cash and the post of news-writer of the *Chakla* of Bardwān. After 24 years, when the *Chakla* of Bardwān came into the possession of the English sāhibs, this office was taken away from our family.

In the same year, at the instigation of calumniators, Nawāb Shujā' Khan summoned Alivardi to his presence. Like an obedient servant, Alivardi went to Murshidabad and removed the dust of displeasure

¹ The Bettia rajas are Jaitharia Brahmans. They first secured the recognition of the Emperor of Delhi in Jahangir's reign. On the death of Gaj Singh in 1694, his possessions were partitioned among his three sons, Dalip Singh getting Bettia, another son Seohar, and a third Madhubāni. Alivardi's opponent was Dhrub Singh (reigned 1715-1763) the son and successor of Dalip Singh.

from the mind of the Nawāb. The Begam [of Shujā'] wished to deprive Alivardi of the deputy governorship and appoint [her son-in-law] Murshid Quli Khan to that post. But Nawāb Shujā' Khan, who was not well pleased with Murshid Quli Khan and from whose mind the suspicion of Alivardi's [disloyalty] had been removed by his coming promptly when summoned without refusing on some plea,—confirmed him as his deputy in Bihar and sent him back,—to the great joy of the people of that [8b] province.

Expedition of Alivardi for punishing the Raja of Bhunra.—The Raja of Bhunra,¹ proud of his hills and jungle and strong places, used to refuse obedience to the orders of the governor. This year too he began to assert his independence.

Alivardi Khan, very rapidly marched against him "making his saddle his sleeping place." The Raja too prepared for fight. A severe encounter took place, the like of which had not been seen before. At last the Raja took to flight. Abdul Karim Khan was appointed to pursue him. He made forced marches, seized the wife and children of the Raja on the skirt of the Dhawlagiri hill, and sent them to the governor. The victors returned to Patna fort [9a]. The Raja made his submission, the district was brought under administration, and he returned to his home.

Alivardi sends an army against the Banjaras of mahāl Bettia.—The Banjāra tribe used to assemble to the number of about 80,000 horse and foot, leading a lakh of oxen with them; on the pretext of buying and selling rice, on whichever side they went they used to commit plunder, especially in the districts of Oudh, Gorakhpur, Ghāzipur, Bettia, Bhuānra (which was their special *jāgir*). At this time, too, they came together, joined crowds of other mischief-makers, and in a vast horde engaged in making disturbances. Alivardi on hearing the news of their advance, ordered Diwān Chintāman-dās, with Hedāyet Ali Khan and 4,000 horsemen under the command of Abdul Karim Khan, to chastise this tribe. The force advanced rapidly. The Banjaras on hearing the name of Abdul Karim Khan, in terror, fled to the hill of Makwāni, which was famous for its strength. Abdul Karim Khan, giving them no respite, ascended to the hill fort, as the Raja of Bettia showed the way, and with his heroic soldiers, by a poor path among the hills, suddenly came upon them. When our troops

¹ *Bhunra*, 19 miles n.n.e. of Bettia town and about the same distance n.n.w. of Segauli. It stands on the Nepal frontier. Gladwin in his translation of the *Tārīkh-i-Bangāla*, read the name as *Phoolwarah*, which Rennell also gives in his Plate IV as *Fulvarya*. Evidently the Persian clerks of these two authors wrongly read *be* and *he* as *pe* and *aliph* as *lam*. Ain (ii. 156) has *Bhānwārah*, a mahal in sarkār Tirhut.

appeared from one side, the enemy on the other side had no help but to engage in battle. After a brief contest they took to flight towards the passes of the hill of Makwāni. The Raja of Makwāni is outside the realm of the Emperor of Hindustan. This hill is high as the sky. [9b] Abdul Karim Khan wrote to the Raja of the place, "If my prey escape by these hill passes, know that I shall arrive in your country." He on receiving the message, closed the passes, preventing the escape of the rebels. The Khan entering the passes, took nearly 20,000 horse and foot with their mounts and arms captive and seized much booty.

At the time of returning the Khan received a letter from the faujdār of Ghāzipur stating that those men were traders of the subah of Oudh and it was not well to treat them ill. So, the Khan halted and wrote in reply, "I am present with my captives. Come and take them." After a week's halt, as nobody appeared from that side, he marched back to Patna. In no book has it been read that 4,000 troopers took 20,000 men captive with their horses and arms, and conveyed them ten marches without letting one slip away. It was done in this way: Abdul Karim Khan at the time of marching back to Patna, placed 20,000 Banjaras with their horses and arms before him and drove them on like a flock of sheep, at once cutting down any man who showed the least disobedience; in this way 5,000 of the men were killed before Patna was reached. Many of the wives of the party killed themselves by poison or the dagger and sword and thus joined their lords. When they reached Alivardi Khan, some men of the tribe were killed, some thrown into prison, and many released.

The robbers (*rahbar*) of Makwāni killed many of the Banjaras who had fled into the passes and seized their property. In short, out of those lakh of men probably not more than 10,000 survived, the rest of the tribe perished for their misdeeds. [10a] Those who had been thrown into prison escaped afterwards during the fight between Babar Jang and Haibat Jang. When Abdul Karim Khan reached Hājipur, Alivardi Khan crossed the Ganges and took by force a portion of the spoils of Abdul Karim; as for the portion which was not credited to the State, Abdul Karim Khan generously distributed it all among his soldiers.

HOW ABDUL KARIM KHAN WAS SLAIN

Abdul Karim Khan, after his great achievements, did not care for anybody in his pride, but spoke words of disloyalty. The matter of sharing the property of the Banjaras had created ill-feeling between the two sides; so Abdul Karim prepared for hostility. For some days he gave up attending the court of Alivardi, remained in his own house and planned futile projects.

Alivardi summoned him to an audience, and posted against him men at two places in his path in the fort, to overthrow him. When this hero of many battles arrived at the second post, which was held by Jaswant Nāgar, a Nāgar soldier came up from behind and wished to strike him with the sword ; but Abdul Karim Khan looked at him with such angry eyes, that his countenance fell. As no one stood up to oppose him, Abdul Karim Khan passed the soldiers of both the posts, and with two attendants arrived in front of Alivardi Khan. The greatest of heroes, [10b] Mirzā Dāwan Quli Beg, who stood face to face with him ready for fight, after saying *salām 'alekum* struck at him with his sword ; the weapon entered one span into the crown of his head ; but Abdul Karim Khan, in spite of his receiving such a blow, hit Mirzā Dāwar Quli with his sword, so hard that the hilt of his sword with a finger was severed. They fought like Rustam and Asfandiyār. In the end the Khan was defeated and slain. The two attendants of Abdul Karim Khan were wounded by Mirzā Dāwar Quli and despatched by others. All this time, Alivardi sat down there with four men watching the scene. When the severed head of Abdul Karim Khan was thrown among his followers who were standing at the gate [of the fort.] they helplessly took to flight to save their lives.

Alivardi sends an army against Sundar [Singh] the zamindar of Tikāri.—

As Raja Sundar [Singh] at the instigation of wicked men, stepped outside the limits of obedience, Alivardi appointed a force against him. Raja Sundar, though noted as a brave man, knew the real situation, and avoiding open battles took refuge in the hills, and began to fight [skirmishes.] The Government troops, getting an opportunity, entered the defiles and it seemed likely that a sudden calamity would befall our army,—when by the grace of God, Raja Sundar seeing his ruin impending took to flight, and the governor's troops coming up in pursuit seized him and sent him tied hand and neck to Alivardi, who at first ordered him to be beheaded ; but through the efforts of Diwān Chintāman-dās he was pardoned, and declared a son of the governor. The Raja, repenting of his past misdeeds, made new promises of fidelity and loyalty, and was invested with a special *khilat*. Thereafter he never again showed disobedience, but was present in many battles, risking his life in Alivardi's cause.

Mustafa Khan, a new servant of Raja Sundar, [11a] was taken with his 35 troopers into the service of Alivardi, [11a] and day by day received such promotion that he reached the highest rank and became the master of 4,000 troopers with the title of Babar Jang.

Alivardi Khan leads an expedition towards Birbhum by order of Nawāb Shujā' Khan.—

As the Raja of Birbhum began to show disobedience towards Nawāb Shujā' Khan, and disorder of many kinds broke out in the realm in consequence of his disturbances, the Nawāb sent an army from Murshidabad to chastise him, and wrote to Alivardi Khan to come from the hilly country with a suitable force and invest Asad Zamān Khan, the Raja of Birbhum, to prevent him from escaping in any other direction. Alivardi started for the conquest. When he arrived near Birbhum, Asad Zamān Khan, seeing no other means of escape, sent a man to intercede with Alivardi Khan, who, like a chivalrous hero, instead of imprisoning him became his helper. As directed by Alivardi Khan, Asad Zamān made Rāi 'Alamechand his intercessor and was presented to Nawāb Shujā' Khan. He was gratified and returned to his country. Alivardi Khan, as ordered by Nawāb Shujā' Khan, returned to the seat of his government.

In this year, 1149, on 7th Rajab [31st Oct. 1736] in the city (*balda*) of Bengal [*i.e.*, Murshidabad] the author was born in the mansion of Alivardi Khan, and Nawāb Shujā' Khan gave [116] him the name of Karam Ali Khan.

Alivardi leads an army to the Karamnāshā, which is the frontier of the subah of Bihar, in fear of the army of Nādir Shah; the death of Nawāb Shujā' Khan, and other events.—

In the year 1151 A.H. [1738 A.D.] when Nādir Shah advanced into India on invasion, Nawāb Shujā' Khan wrote to Alivardi to assemble troops from all sides and advance in suitable strength to the frontier to guard it. Two or three hazāris were despatched from Murshidabad to strengthen him. Alivardi, with his old and new troops and the reinforcements [from Bengal] advanced to the Karamnāshā. In the course of these few days Nawāb Shujā' Khan died [13th March 1739] and the governorship came to Nawāb Sarfarāz Khan 'Alā-ud-daula the son of the deceased; and the new Nawāb issued *jarmāns* confirming every deputy and faujdār in his post.

When four or five months had passed in this way, and Alivardi after the ending of the invasion of Nādir Shah [May 1739], returned to the seat of his government, Nawāb Sarfarāz Khan, at the instigation of evil-minded men and calumniators became unreasonably displeased with Alivardi Khan. Although some of his well-wishers told him that Alivardi was a man exalted by divine aid and a warrior blessed with God-given victories, so that it was unwise to quarrel with him, Sarfarāz would not listen to them, but sent him harsh messages and improper [12a] letters, and began to treat Hājī Sāhib and his relatives with

ridicule,¹ and some low people, who had no particle of wisdom, knowing that they would promote their own interests by calumniating such a *sardār*, became the cause of the ruin of his kingdom and fortune. Their foolish plan for intimidating the troops [of Alivardi] was this that they caused a letter to be written to Alivardi to this effect, "Take back from the *hazāris* of the reinforcing detachment the gold and coral chains which had been presented to them by Nawāb Shujā' Khan and send them back [to Murshidabad.]"

Alivardi Khan, after publicly reading the letter out to all in his darbar, took the chains back from the *hazāris* and in that very darbar packed them in bags and despatched them to Murshidabad. And in the place of the chains taken away, he gave the *hazāris* at that very moment pearl necklaces in the place of the chains taken back and thus made them pleased and grateful. Thus, all the soldiers became displeased with Nawab 'Alā-ud-daula for his meanness, and determined to support Alivardi with devoted loyalty. Some people say that this letter was [really] fabricated by Alivardi Khan as a device for alienating the army from the Nawāb.

For a time Alivardi Khan, being a man of experience and knowledge of the world, kept himself within the bounds of loyalty and obedience to the Nawāb. But when he found that time was slipping away, he decided not to remain helplessly inactive in his own place,—because contentment with one's lot is the characteristic of beasts and the ambition of winning glory and power is the mark of the great. He used often to repeat the verses

Fortune condemns the man
Who performs today's work tomorrow.

But without letting any one know the wish of his heart, he determined to gain possession of the kingdom of Bengal and not to let the opportunity that had arrived, pass away.

[126] Alivardi Khan leads an army towards Bengal; Nawab 'Alā-ud-daula is slain.—

Alivardi Khan waited for one year. Then in the year 1152 [cor. 1153=1740], he rose against the ruler. He first of all despatched Nawāb Shahāmat Jang with Nawāb Hasan Qulī Khan and a strong force on the pretext of punishing the zamindars of Hanswa and Nawāda, and instructed them to wait for his fresh orders and carry out such orders when received. Making Nawāb Haibat Jang his deputy in the province of Patna, he himself, under the plea of punishing the zamindars of Bhojpur, entered his tents at Bānkīpur in the

¹ I read *maskhara* for *musahhar* of the ms. *Hazāris* were lieutenants of the musketeers and the artillery, in Turkish *Ming-bāshi*.

midst of his army and counsellors. Here he halted for nearly one month, till the report of the expedition against Bhojpur reached the ears of all people far and near, and at the beginning of the year 1152 [should be 1153 A.H. = March 1740], he wrote to Shahâmat Jang, the son of his brother, to go with his army to Râjmahal, and he himself by six rapid marches arrived at Râjmahal. Here he halted for a few days to give rest to his people and let the stragglers join him, and sent a letter to Nawâb 'Ala-ud-daula saying, "The newly enlisted troops have forcibly brought me here for exacting the arrears of their salary. Therefore, no suspicion should find a place in your heart for this movement. Send Hâji Sâhib to me, so that I may communicate the wishes of my heart to you orally through him, and [also] entrust to me [13a] some of my relatives who are living there [in Murshidabad], so that I may take them with me and go wherever it is my lot. Also, pay the dues of the newly recruited soldiers."

Nawâb 'Alâ-ud-daula on receiving the news of the approach of Alivardi Khan and this letter, took counsel with Jagat Seth and Rai 'Alamchand about giving *conge* to Hâji Sâhib. They were his well-wishers, and gave him this advice, "Hâji Sâhib should be given leave to depart, because his being alive or dead is equally immaterial. For some days you should show kindness and thus remove his fear and then in private or public wherever an opportunity occurs, destroy him [Alivardi.] In fact, you should be ready for fighting. Don't delay or neglect this work." Nawâb 'Alâ-ud-daula, according to this advice gave Hâji Sâhib his *conge* and began to conciliate the troops. He ordered that the men who had been disbanded two months before this should be re-enlisted. He himself, with the experienced soldiers, set out from the city with the intention of fighting and in two days reached Suti for camping.

Alivardi after meeting Hâji Sâhib and assembling his vast army, which overcrowded the surface of the ground, by rapid marches advanced from Râjmahal; and the two armies lay facing each other on the bank of the river of Suti at a distance of three kos. 'Alâ-ud-daula here, too, neglecting caution and watchfulness, ordered his fighting troops [under] Habibullah Khan, Ghaus Khan Afghân, Mir Sharf-ud-din, and Pānchu Part-kesh [Panjâ, the Portuguese] the *dârogha* of the jinsi topkhānah, to cross the river and confront the army of Alivardi, while he himself remained with a few men on that side of the river. He sent Shujâ'-it Beg and Basant the eunuch to the camp of Alivardi on the pretext of carrying a message of peace but really to spy out its condition. Alivardi Khan, with sagacious words, won the hearts of these two men, and [13b] revealed his goodness of nature, so that they returned to 'Alâ-ud-daula without

starting any talk about peace or war, and told him that it was difficult to find another loyal and obedient servant like Alivardi.

By the advice of 'Ali Mardān Khan the Bakhshi,—who belonged to the family of Mirzā Muhammad Iraj Khan,—he planned to lure the captains of Alivardi with offers of money into the snare of destruction. Writing royal letters containing promises and rewards beyond count he sent them secretly to every officer of Alivardi's camp. The faithful Mustafa Khan, at midnight went with his letter to Alivardi Khan, showed it to him, and said, "Life is conditional upon our preserving our honour.

You are the master, do what you like.

Although the enemy's troops outnumber ours, they are raw men, inexperienced in war."

Alivardi called him brother, conferred on him boundless favours, and at that very time of midnight issued orders to his troops to dress for battle. Without making the least noise, he marshalled his men and ordered Shahāmat Jang with Mustafa Khan to advance as the vanguard of his army, towards the right wing of the enemy; called back a sardār named Ranglāl who with a *dasta* of *fauj* was appointed to oppose Habibullah and Ghaus Khan, the commanders of the vanguard of 'Alā-ud-daula's army, telling him not to attack the enemy. Alivardi himself with his troops, on the 29th Muharram, year 1152 [should be 1153 A.H.=15 April 1740] took horse, accompanied by his *qurchis* (horse guards), slaves and other [14a] [personal] retainers, and at dawn before the sun had risen, entered into the camp of Nawāb 'Alā-ud-daula, and ordered his artillery to fire. 'Alā-ud-daula, who was sleeping with his troops, was awakened by the noise of the guns and the falling of cannon-balls, and had no help but to prepare for battle. His soldiers, on the arrival of the troops of Shahāmat Jang and Mustafa Khan from the right side with drawn swords, abandoned their property and took to flight. When the son of Muhammad Iraj Khan was slain, 'Ali Mardān Khan the Bakhshi and all the tribe of Zangānia,¹ took to flight before the other troops.

Nawāb 'Alā-ud-daula after performing his dawn-prayer mounted on an elephant and had issued a few steps from his tent, when a musket ball entered his forehead, the crown fell down from his head and he gave up his life. Mir Dilir Ali with a few of his servants entered the battlefield; and when he found that all was over with the Nawāb, he did not choose to lay the disgrace of flight on himself, but bravely fought with his sword till he was killed. When Ghaus Khan, Habibullah Khan, Mir Sharfuddin and Panja the Portuguese and

¹ Zangān, a city between Kazvin and Tabriz.

others saw an enemy force standing in front of them, they engaged in fighting without getting the time to be reinforced, and very easily slew Ranglāl the Banjāra. After the death of 'Alā-ud-daula this force turned to confront and fight Alivardi. But as there was no concert among them, Habibullah Khan with all the troops, from that side of the river set out for the capital. Ghaus Khan with his two sons,—named Qutb and Babar, and a few other men, and Mir Sharfuddin with a few followers crossed the river Ganges, opposed the army of Alivardi, and all the three (father and sons) died after bravely fighting. Mir Sharfuddin, after entering the field of battle, shot an arrow at the arm of [14b] Alivardi, and retired safely from the field. Alivardi returned to his camp playing the music of victory. . . . The reign of 'Alā-ud-daula lasted one year and one month.

I

ALIVARDI'S ACCESSION

After gaining such an unrivalled victory, Alivardi marched from Suti to Diwān Sarāi. There he decided to send Hājī Sāhib to the city before himself for reassuring the people, so that he might give them an account of the victory. After Hājī Sāhib had entered the city and soothed the minds of the people, vast crowds of high and low came out and interviewed Alivardi. Two days after Hājī Sāhib he entered the city and first paid a visit to the house of the sister of 'Alā-ud-daula and by his kind and friendly speech removed grief from her heart.

Next he went to the Hall of Public Audience. A huge [15a] crowd of soldiers and other people had assembled, the dust raised by whom darkened the sun. . . . Seating himself in the *masnad* of rule, he devoted all his efforts to doing good to the soldiers and the ryots. No servant of 'Alā-ud-daula was dismissed by him but all retained their posts. Habib-ullah Khan was too ashamed of having fled from the field to show his face and was censured by the public for his bad tongue; Alivardi sending Shahāmat Jang and Hakim Ali Naqi Khan to his house, called him to audience. He, after a little hesitation, made Shahāmat Jang his protector, came to Alivardi, promised to obey him, and was pardoned and employed in the service of Alivardi Khan.

Nawab Murid Khan comes from the Emperor with a robe (of office) for 'Alā-ud-daula, and to escheat the property to Shuja' Khan and Ja'far Khan. This robe was appropriately placed on Alivardi Khan's person.—

When Murid Khan sent by the Emperor to attach the property (of Shuja' and Ja'far Khan), arrived at Patna with a royal *khilat*, Alivardi Khan first sent him a letter alluding to their former friendship, and requesting him to halt for some time at Patna. After some days when he had settled the affairs of the government (in Bengal) he called Murid Khan to Bengal. But not desiring to let him come to Murshidabad, Alivardi himself, went to Rajmahal to welcome him in advance. After meeting Murid Khan, told him all that had happened to himself, without making it longer or shorter. [15b] Murid Khan, who was the Plato and Aristotle of the age, put the *khilat* sent by the Emperor for Ala-ud-daula on the person of Alivardi Khan and congratulated him. As the two nobles became very friendly, after some frequent interviews, Alivardi sent a portion of the property left behind by Shuja Khan and Sarfaraz Khan with his own presents for the Emperor. As the news of the rising of Murshid Quli Khan (II) reached him, he made excuses to Murid Khan and sent the last-named back to Delhi, and himself started for putting down the disturbance of Murshid Quli Khan, surnamed Rustam Jang, the son-in-law of Shuja' Khan and subahdar of Orissa.

ALIVARDI MARCHES TO ORISSA: FLIGHT OF NAWAB RUSTAM JANG

When Murshid Quli Khan heard that 'Ala-ud-daula had been killed and Alivardi Khan had seated himself on the *masnad* of governorship, he became furious with anger, and calling his advisers and captains together told them, "The administration of Bengal has not yet been settled and the people of the capital have not yet become fully submissive to Alivardi Khan. It is proper that we should seize this opportunity, destroy his power, and avenge the blood of 'Ala-ud-daula." So after making war preparations, he set out from Orissa for Bengal. Alivardi, after giving *conge* to Murid Khan, marched with his army from Rajmahal to put down this disturber. Saulat Jang, who was faujdar of Rangpur from the time of Shuja' Khan, now joined his uncle, and the two together set out for Orissa. [16a.]

Alivardi Khan appointed my father (now dead) as darogha of branding (cavalry horses) and verification ; left Shahamat Jang and Hāji Sāhib to guard the capital, appointing the brave Habibullah Khan to serve under these two, and himself marched on with the army. . . . When he arrived three marches on this side of Katak, owing to the rapidity of the advance of his army, extreme scarcity of grain raged in his camp ; so much so that a tobacco-seller, driven to distress by the

crowding of the people (*i.e.*, buyers), began to sit down on the elephant reserved for carrying the articles of the elephant department, and conduct his trade with the people.

Murshid Quli Khan was sitting down ready for fight in his trenches on the bank of the river, two or three kos from Alivardi's camp. When he heard of the scarcity of provisions in Alivardi's army and the facts about the tobacco-vendor, he thought that the army was now distressed and distracted by the famine but would recover its strength when in a few days provisions would reach it ; so he decided to utilise the opportunity and quickly engage in fighting. In his lack of experience, he crossed the river at midday and prepared for giving battle: he sent his son-in-law Baqar Ali Khan with a large force to go ahead as his vanguard ; appointed his Bakhshi Mukhlis Ali Khan, the kinsman (*Khvesh*) of Hāji Sāhib, to command Baqar Ali Khan's front division ; and sent a body of infantry secretly through the jungle on the left hand.

Alivardi Khan with his heroes, dressed his ranks and rode [166] into the field. The soldiers of Murshid Quli Khan in their want of experience, had left their artillery behind them and began to fight with their arms. Alivardi's troops, placing their *jinsi* and *dasti* artillery in front, engaged in battle. At last the army of Rustam Jang, being scattered by the fire of Alivardi's guns, delivered charges from every side in which they found a way, fought bravely, and were slain. The soldiers who arrived to oppose Haidar Ali Khan, the darogha of the *dasti* artillery, were consumed by the fire of our skirmishers ; the soldiers who got the chance of fighting at close quarters, on either side plied the sword and spear, bow and arrow, and did not fail to exert themselves ; but most of the enemy force were slain.

Bāqar Ali Khan, broken-hearted by the slaughter of his men, took to flight with his Bakhshi Mukhlis Ali Khan, and reached Murshid Quli Khan. The two together embarked in a hired ship which in anticipation of such a day they had kept with themselves, and set out for the Deccan. Much booty including 200 pieces of artillery, fell into Alivardi's hands. The women of Murshid Quli Khan with the Begam (Dardana) who had not the opportunity of fleeing away (with them), escaped through the jungle with the help of the zamindars and after undergoing hardship and distraction on the way reached their lord after a long time.

Alivardi appointed Faqir-ullah Beg Khan and Nurullah Beg Khan to pursue him. On arriving near the forest they seized more than a hundred chariots (*gārhi*) and carts full of money and baggage. But as the Begam had entered the jungle and these generals had no

orders, they did not pursue her further, but took possession of the property. [17a]

Alivardi rewarded his gallant troops. As in this battle Mir Muhammad Ja'far Khan had fought on foot, doing heroic deeds and receiving wounds, he gained unlimited favours.

Alivardi after conquering the province of Orissa, began to administer justice. Many ryots came and did him homage. He appointed Saulat Jang as subahdar of Orissa, leaving Hasan Beg Khan, a great captain and experienced man, as his associate, to govern by their united judgment.

Alivardi Khan returned victorious to Bengal. Qasim Ali Khan the son of Mirza Mirak the brother's son of the Nawab Begam Sahiba, was removed from the Bakhshi-ship and appointed faujdar of Rangpur. Mir Muhammad Ja'far Khan, who was till now, an officer on Rs. 100 a month, was rewarded for his brave deeds by being exalted to the high office of First Bakhshi, while the post of the Second Bakhshi was given to Faqir-ullah Beg Khan. For the (Nawab's) relatives on the mother's side, near or distant, who were young in age monthly stipends were granted. For example, to the author of this book who was then in his fifth year, an allowance of Rs. 50 a month was given, and for 34 years, up to the present year 1186 (—1772 A.D.) when the English Sāhibs have become dominant, he was never deprived of it. [17b.]

In the same way, Sadiq Ali Khan (the son of Mir Muhammad Ja'far Khan) and Khurram Ali and Ghulam Ali (son of Ghulam Husain Khan, the 'arz-begi) were favoured with monthly allowances. Shahāmat Jang was diwan of the subah of Bengal and administrator of the affairs of the region of Jahangir-nagar (Dacca); he was now sent back to his charge with Nawab Hasan Ali Khan as his deputy. He collected large sums from the chiefs and zamindars of that place by agreeable means.

II

But a year had not been completed when news arrived of the captivity of Saulat Jang and the seizure of the province of Orissa by Bāqar Ali Khan. Alivardi immediately on hearing this news summoned Shahāmat Jang from Dacca, in spite of the rains being then at their height, left him as his deputy at the capital, and at the beginning of the cold season set out with the greatest speed towards the subah of Katak.

ALIVARDI'S SECOND CAMPAIGN AGAINST
BAQAR ALI

Bāqar Ali Khan, after parting from Murshid Quli Khan, with a small party went to the province of Orissa, to fight his enemy. Arriving in the neighbourhood of Orissa, he sent his agents to a number of his old officers who had entered the service of Saulat Jang and were holding posts, and informed them of his coming and his plans. Some of these men were seduced to become his partisans. As Saulat Jang, in disregard of the counsel of Hasan Beg Khan, had entrusted the fort (of Katak) and the country [18a] to these men, and himself remained sunk in pleasure and repose, these wicked men, knowing Hasan Beg Khan to be an obstacle in their path, murdered him near the Qadam Rasul, and very quickly advancing from that place imprisoned Saulat Jang with his wife and children, and sent a letter to Bāqar Ali Khan who was in that neighbourhood, informing him of what they had done and summoning him. Bāqar Ali arrived; he wished to kill Saulat Jang, but his wife forbade him and thus saved the lives of the captives.

But in the year 1154 (1741 A.D.) Alivardi Khan arrived with his army and made him a wanderer in the wilderness of calamity.

When Alivardi, marching rapidly from Bengal, arrived within two or three stages of Katak, he got the news that Bāqar Ali had fled (from the capital), confined Saulat Jang in a chariot (*rath*) in which he had posted two Mughals; appointed some infantry,—called Telingas, to guard the *rath*, with orders to slay Saulat Jang if Alivardi's troops arrived near it, otherwise to bring him along. So, Alivardi ordered Mustafa Khan and Umar Khan to proceed faster than the wind, come up with the enemy, and capture Saulat Jang dead or alive. Alivardi's younger brother, Muhammad Amin Khan begged for and obtained permission [18b] to accompany this party and made great haste. When Mustafa Khan turned towards those wretches, Bāqar Ali in terror abandoned his prisoners and own family and took to flight even more earnestly than before. The infantry guard of the *rath*, after giving some spear-thrusts through the curtains of the *rath*, and believing that they had in this way killed Saulat Jang, took to flight. Of the two Mughals seated in the *rath*, one was killed by the spears of the Telingas, and the other when trying to jump down from the *rath*, was slain by Alivardi's men. Mustafa Khan discovered Saulat Jang in the *rath* after searching, entrusted him to Muhammad Amin Khan, and himself set out in pursuit of Bāqar Ali Khan, but not coming up with him, returned.

Alivardi rejoiced at the safety of his nephew ; he held Court at Katak for some days, and then, leaving Mukhlis Ali Khan, as deputy subahdar of Orissa, set out on return. When he reached Balesar, he got news of the coming of the Marathas and the illness of Mukhlis Ali Khan, and appointing Shaikh Ma'sum as commander of the province of Orissa and Raja Durlabh Ram (the son of Raja Janki Ram) as subahdar, sent them off to their charge, while he himself resumed his journey to his capital. From Medinipur, he sent off Saulat Jang (in advance) to go to his parents, and himself marched on . . . with all his captains. He was seeking news of the Marathas. When he reached the *chakla* of Bardwan, the Marathas arrived and encircled his entire army, cutting off its provisions, so that for two or three days no food grain could be had in his camp even for Rs. 20 a seer.

How the Marathas attacked, and were driven away defeated ; how Habibullah Khan joined them.—

It is said that when Rustam Jang went by ship to the Deccan, waited on Nizam-ul-mulk, and begged him for aid, the latter out of his practical knowledge, sent a secret hint to the Marathas, inciting them with greed for the money and property of Bengal.

The Maratha sardars, with their troops set out for Bengal ; slew Shaikh Ma'sum and his clansmen, took Raja Durlabh Rām prisoner, enveloped Alivardi at Bardwan and demanded from him *chauth* and one *Kror* of rupees as their expenses in coming to Bengal. Alivardi, in view of the surprise advance of the Marathas and his own lack of materials for defence, at first agreed to give them *chauth* and some other articles, in order to remove this evil without recourse to fighting. But when they asked for Siraj-ud-daula—who was the eye and lamp of his state—as a hostage, he in reliance on God's help and in a desperate mood, assembled his army chiefs and told them, "Why should I not give you as a gift what I am going to pay the Marathas? God can send all this Maratha army to hell in a twinkling of the eye and by one word of command". His generals, on hearing these words, determined to fight to death.

All the generals, from dawn to sunset fought the enemy in the most praiseworthy manner, and at last after two or three days of prolonged fighting, the enemy, unable to bear the blows of our troops, took to flight, and engaged in plundering the cities and villages. Habib-ullah Khan, who accompanied the Nawab in this campaign, by creating a false report of his having been slain, had kept himself aloof from the army ; he had been from former times an enemy of Alivardi's family. The Marathas carried him off with themselves. He incited them to plunder the capital, and taking two or three

thousand soldiers (of the Maratha army) with himself, he started for Murshidabad. First, he went to his own house there, took his brother with himself, but by reason of the opposition of [19b] Ali Jawād Khan and Ataullah Khan, could not bring away his own wives and children. He then went to the Kuthi of Jagat Seth, took away nearly three lakhs of rupees which were loaded in boats on the bank of the river, and then issued out of the city. Hāji Sāhib and Shabāmat Jang, next day made such arrangements for the protection of the city, that from that day onwards the Marathas could never again enter it.

Every morning the Marathas used to attack Alivardi, and after thousands had been slain take to flight in the evening. When Alivardi, in the midst of such disturbances, reached Katwa, on hearing of the plunder of the capital and the *Kuthi* of Jagat Seth, he hastened at the height of rains and arrived in the city, protecting the people from the ravages of the Marathas. For two or three days he took rest from the fatigue of the journey, and then issued again for punishing the Marathas, and expelled them from the neighbourhood of the capital. Every year an embankment (*pul-i-pul sadī*) used to be constructed on the bank of the Bhāgirathi for keeping out the river flood (from the city). The Nawāb now sent 'Ataullah Khan Sābit Jang and Mustafa Khan Babar Jang to Plassey and ordered them to demolish the embankment there.

Owing to the removal of that dam, the south side of the city was flooded and the movement of (enemy) troops was prevented.

When he heard that the Marathas were assembled in the Katwa district, he himself crossed the Bhāgirathi and started for that side. As Habibullah Khan had secured a sloop on which some guns were mounted, from the Dutch, he fired cannon-balls from it on Alivardi's troops. Mirzā Dāwar Qulī, the dārogha of the *jinsi* artillery, sank that gun-boat by his own gun-fire. Alivardi built a bridge over the Ajay river which flows south of Katwa, and ordered his troops to cross it at night. After Shamsheer Khan and Sardar Khan had crossed, the bridge broke down, in the middle, and a strange confusion and clamour arose at midnight. [20a] Alivardi advanced on foot in the mud to the bridge, reassured his troops, and repairing the bridge in the midst of that confusion, ordered his troops again to cross. The Marathas, struck with fear by the shouts (noise) of our army, abandoned their property and decided to flee away.

Battle of Katwa.—The two armies engaged in fighting a hard contested battle, and a disaster to the Nawab's army seemed imminent, when Mustafa Khan charged the enemy sword in hand, the troops following him flung themselves upon the enemy. The Afghans

showered arrows. Our men gained the victory, and the Marathas turned their faces away from battle, in such despair that they did not draw the rein up to the lake of Chilka, which is the limit of Orissa. Alivardi hastening in pursuit, and giving the enemy no time to rally, reached Katak. This time leaving Babar Jang's brother's son (as governor) in Orissa, he himself returned with [20b] his attendants to his capital. The citizens advanced to welcome him on the way, and received from him favours of many kinds. He gave away three lakhs of rupees as "the price of blood" to the soldiers who had been drowned in the breaking of the bridge, to the sardars and to all the troops. The author's father who had during the battle guarded the personal property (*manjudāt*) of the drowned soldiers, was rewarded with an elephant.

III

THE MASSACRE OF BHĀSKAR AND OTHER MARATHA SARDARS

On hearing that Alivardi had replied to the demand for *chauth* with his sword, the master of the Maratha army appointed Raja Bhāskarrām as commander of his troops and Ali Bhai diwan for conducting negotiations (*masāliha*) and sent them to Bengal; they desolated and plundered every place they could reach. When Raja Janaki Ram sent envoys for securing the release of his son Durlabh Ram, they demanded a ransom of ten lakhs of rupees, and discussions started between the two sides; through the same ambassadors a message for the settlement of the *chauth* was sent to Ali Bhāi. Ali Bhai, who had been charged with this very work by his master, interviewed Alivardi through the mediation of Raja Janaki Ram. The Nawab won his heart by abundance of kindness and favours and sent him back highly satisfied. Raja Janaki Ram and Babar Jang were sent with him as envoys to Raja Bhaskarram for discussing the points. (21a)

These two men met Raja Bhaskarram and strengthened the bond of friendship by taking oaths according to their religions. Alivardi Khan sent many presents to Bhaskarram and thus threw him off his guard.

Because in administering a kingdom, all kinds of expedients are praiseworthy in a ruler, he had recourse to deception, and after a time, in a proper manner asked for a meeting with Bhaskarram, and ordered his own tent to be set up at Mankara, in a spacious plain. On the day of the interview he sat down in his tent with a large force. Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan was posted at the door with some horses; Haidar Ali Khan with the artillery near his own tent and across the

path of the enemy, Mirza Dawar Quli Khan with guns in the rear of the Marathas. So, he sat down waiting for the Maratha generals to come. As the public had no knowledge of the real business, immense crowds gathered to see the spectacle, blocking the paths and scorching in the hot sun.

When Raja Bhaskarram, with his strong force rode up with Babar Jang and Raja Janaki Ram, he left his troops behind him at a distance of two kos from the tent of Alivardi and entered it with only 12 captains and Ali Bhai. As soon as Alivardi's eye fell on him he ordered that they should be hemmed round and not one of them allowed to go away alive. At once his soldiers slew them. Raja Bhaskarram's head was cut off and raised on a spear-head, while his body was hacked to pieces. (21b).

Alivardi immediately after mounted a lofty elephant and set out for expelling the Marathas ; Babar Jang and Umar Khan, by his order fell on the rear of the leaderless enemy's army. Innumerable swords dazzled the eyes of the beholders and innumerable arrows darkened their faces. The dead lay in heaps on the plain. As none except Mustafa Khan and Raja Janaki Ram knew of this plot, the people seated in the tent were puzzled by the fighting after Alivardi had left and they took to flight in fear. Haji Sahib in his far sightedness told Alivardi, "You have to-day created enemies for yourself till Doomsday."

In the year 1156 Mustafa Khan who had risked his life, was given many favours and the title of Babar Jang. All the other soldiers were given boundless rewards.

Alivardi that year went up to Medinipur in pursuit of the Marathas, but returned to his capital at the commencement of the rainy season.

After his return from this expedition, while Bengal was enjoying peace, Saulat Jang, who had gone to Hugli, had a rupture with the German nation about custom duty. (22a) His deputy Sujan Singh, by his exaction, had exasperated all people. The Germans, not considering the consequences, raised their heads in tumult and like all the Europeans planned a night attack ; on the pretext of going to their church, which was behind the fort of Hugli, about fifty of them embarked in boats, took some ladders with them, and issued from their factory by the river at midnight. Arriving near the *Girja*, which means the place of worship of the Christians, they dismounted from their boats and took the way to the fort, intending to climb up the wall by bravery. The guards, especially the musketeers, who were awake, opposed, and the Europeans being disappointed took to their boats at dawn and returned with failure. Saulat Jang sent Hasan

Raza Khan and Sujan Singh his deputy, with a strong force to besiege their factory. Those sahibs, after crossing the river, in their want of practical knowledge, sat down composedly in the garden of Amin Chand.

From the German nation, two men calling themselves Frenchmen (*banām-i-Farāsis*) came and inspected all the entrenchments on the way of coming and going, issued from their factory at midnight and delivered a night attack on our sleeping soldiers, who all fled away abandoning their trenches, no man thinking of any other's fate. Alivardi on getting news of it, sent Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan his Bakhshi to punish the criminals. He arrived and blockaded their factory; the German people in fear took to their ship and escaped. People still believe that Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan took a bribe of Rs. 10,000 to let them escape with their lives. From that day to this, which is about 30 years the Germans have not been allowed to establish any other factory in Bengal. This year Alivardi sent letters to the Emperor begging for aid. (22b)

IV

EXPEDITION OF RAGHUJI FOR AVENGING THE BLOOD OF BHASKARRAM; THE COMING OF BALAJI RAI TO THE AID OF ALIVARDI BY ORDER OF THE EMPEROR

In the year 1156, Raghuji, after the massacre of his sardars, set out for Bengal with a lakh of troops, more or less. Raghu belonged to the tribe which is written of in the provinces of Hind as "robbers" (*ghanim*, plunderers, *i.e.* Marathas). Balaji Rai Maratha, being appointed by the Emperor in response to Alivardi's petition for help, set out for this side with 70,000 troops; this party was obedient to the orders of the Emperor of Hind. Alivardi, on learning of the coming of two such foreign armies, summoned Zainuddin Ahmad Khan Bahadur Haibat Jang from Bihar and Said Ahmad Khan Saulat Jang from Hugli, and dauntlessly set out with 70,000 horse and a lakh of *barqandazes* (musketeers) and artillery, to meet in advance these two foreign armies.

After much talk, Balaji Rai settled that the two armies should remain at a distance of one kos from each other, and the chiefs of the two armies should leave their soldiers and meet together in the plain between. Alivardi ordered Mustafa Khan, Shamsheer Khan, Sardar

Khan, Umar Khan, Haidar Ali Khan, Dawar Quli Khan, Raham Khan, Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan, Faqirullah Beg Khan and other generals, that during the time of interview and the dismounting of the victorious standard (*i.e.*, halt of the Nawab) they should arrange their troops in order of battle exactly as on the day of actual fighting. Thus they should set out to welcome Balaji Rai, so that he might be impressed with the number and arrangements of the troops and the skill of their commanders. They acted accordingly (23a).

That day on account of the vast assemblage of troops, and the dust they raised, the eye could see the path with difficulty. . . .

The two chiefs, after arriving near their place of camping, met each other, and entered their respective tents. Alivardi Khan made Siraj-ul-daulah exchange turbans with Balaji Rai and thus made him (Balaji) his son. Alivardi Khan and Balaji Rai sat together and consulted how to put down the disturbances and the hostility of Raghuji. Balaji Rai, on the plea of making greater speed, set out alone to put down the enemy; he pursued Raghuji up to Katak (*sic.* Ganges?), slew many of his men, and returned safe. Some lakhs of rupees had been granted to Balaji by Alivardi; (23b) these he paid now and also gave many gifts and sent him back highly pleased.

After the departure of Balaji Rai, Alivardi, who had so long remained inactive while his enemies were quarrelling among themselves, —set himself to fight Raghuji. But the latter never faced him whenever Alivardi came up to fight him and only plundered the country.

As the rainy season approached, Raghuji sent envoys with a proposal of peace. Alivardi told the envoy, "Balaji Rai has come and met me, and I have given him a large sum. For four years there has been war between you and me; I have slain your high-ranking generals. No injury has been inflicted by you on me, except that you have burnt some of my villages, but even there no substantial gain has been secured by you. Therefore, it is proper that we should meet together and form friendship and after presenting you with some gifts I shall give you *conge*." Raghuji replied, "It is impossible that you and I should meet together. It is expedient that you should conclude a treaty of peace and cease to fight." When some days passed in these parleys, and no mischief (*kharabi*) too occurred between them, and the rainy season arrived, Raghuji deeming it inexpedient to stay in this country, returned to his own home without gaining his object. Alivardi returned to his seat and rewarded the soldiers who had done good service. (24a)

During these rejoicings, Alivardi's mother who had reached the age of ninety, died. . . .

V

ALIVARDI MARCHES AGAINST HABIBULLAH KHAN WHO
HAD COME AT THE HEAD OF A MARATHA ARMY
ON BEHALF OF RAGHUJI

In the year 1159, Raghuji after returning to his home in disappointment, sent a strong force to Bengal, with Habibullah Khan, ordering his generals to act according to his advice. Habibullah entered the province of Orissa and finding the fort of Bārabāti unoccupied, seized it. This fort is famous for its strength, and a ditch fed with the water of the river Katjhuri surrounds it on two sides, (so that) it is rather difficult to capture it. He left Sayyid Nur and Sarandaz Khan with a *dasta* of troopers and a *hazāri* with heavy materials (baggage and stores) in it, and returned to the conquest of Bengal and swept the *mahāls* of Balesar, Jalesar, Medinipur, Bardwan, Birbhum, Bishnupur, Mangalkot and Krishna-nagar so completely with the (24b) broom of plunder that one might have said that they had never been peopled and cultivated.

Alivardi came out to fight him ; he sent Mustafa Khan and Raham Khan towards Bishnupur where Mir Habib himself was present. 'Umar Khan towards Mangalkot, Mir Md. Jafar Khan, Shamsheer Khan and Sardar Khan to block the road to Birbhum, while he himself turned to the hills and jungles of Bishnupur with Haidar Ali Khan the darogha of the *dasti* artillery and Mirza Dawar Quli Khan the darogha of the *jinsi* artillery, and the remainder of the army, through a pathless tract. Owing to the abundance of thorny trees and the unevenness of the way, his soldiers were dispersed. So, he ordered that at the times of starting on the march and halting, a salvo of the artillery should be fired so that the soldiers might keep together and not scatter in confusion in that jungle. The woods and sky resounded with the roar of his artillery, he cut a way through the forest and in a few days fell upon Habibullah Khan unawares, and began to fight him. After a stiff fight the enemy turned to flight. The troops on the two sides, during the one month that they were in that jungly and hilly country, fought in disregard of life in groups of ten or a hundred whenever they met together. After coming out of that difficult region, the two sides fought a severe battle in Bardwan. The Nawab's troops by desperate combat defeated the Marathas and put them to flight.

Sayyid Nur and Sarandaz Khan slain.—Alivardi after this victory, set out in pursuit of the enemy by forced marches [25a] slaying many. When he arrived within two kos of Barabati fort, Sayyid Nur in concert with Sarandaz Khan secretly sent to Alivardi a letter concealed

in a cocoanut shell in fear of Habibullah Khan, by the hand of a Brahman, stating "If you come to the fort and pardon our offences, your slaves will cheerfully surrender the fort to you." Alivardi on receiving this letter lost no time, but advanced with a small party to the foot of the fort and took post on a hillock near it. Sayyid Nur who was true to his word, came out alone from the fort, saw Alivardi, and after promising to surrender the fort and settling the business, he took leave and went back to the fort. (It was settled that) next day, Sarandaz Khan, taking the *hazari* with him, should come to the Nawab's camp to offer his submission, and he himself (Sayyid Nur) should meet Alivardi before these two men. At that time the Nawab was seated in a small tent, intending to enter the city with his army, and waiting for Sayyid Nur and Sarandaz Khan; the baggage and stores were loaded for being sent in.

As Sayyid Nur and Sarandaz Khan had practised great oppression in Orissa and Alivardi had heard of it in detail, he placed Siraj-ud-daula apart in the plain with a large body of troops, with orders to murder Sarandaz Khan. When Sayyid Nur arrived before Alivardi he asked where Sarandaz Khan was. On getting the reply that he was near and would come soon, Sayyid Nur was told by Alivardi to send a message to Sarandaz Khan to wait on Siraj-ud-daula first, and afterwards on himself. When Sarandaz Khan was going to interview Siraj-ud-daula the soldiers beheaded him, and overthrew the *hazari*. Sayyid Nur who considered himself as one of the bravest of men, on hearing this news became 'dry' in his own place; he was arrested and handed over to the Mewātis (ms. reads *Mwatika*). (25b)

When Alivardi went towards the fort, the men within objected. After long parleys and new promises, the leaders of the garrison were released from blockade, and came to pay their homage to Alivardi, and the fort came into the Nawab's possession. That very night, by his order, the Mewātis squeezed the throat of Sayyid Nur so hard that his breath stopped, and next day it was circulated that Sayyid Nur had committed suicide out of wounded sense of honour.

At the time of Alivardi's return (from Katak), no one would agree to be qiladar of the place in fear of the Marathas, except Mirza Habib Beg who consented for the sake of a two-days' rule. Entrusting the fort to the qiladar and the subah to the subahdar, Alivardi returned to Bengal.

VI

CELEBRATION OF THE MARRIAGE OF AKRAM-UD-DAULA,
THE YOUNGER BROTHER OF SIRAJ-UD-DAULA,
AND SOME OTHER EVENTS

Akram-ud-daula the middle son of Haibat Jang, was married to the daughter of 'Ataulla Khan Sabit Jang. (26a)

The expenditure on scents, illumination and fireworks was twelve lakhs of rupees, besides the cost of the robes presented to the people, high and low. For full three months, day and night, one lakh of troopers, one lakh of infantry, and *krors* of the ryots enjoyed the festivity and music.

A little about the coming and going away of Safdar Jang.—When the sun appeared (after the rainy season), Alivardi, as in the previous years, turned to putting down the disturbances of Habibullah Khan, and enquired into his army. He sent a letter to Emperor Muhammad Shah, "This old slave has called up Haibat Jang from Bihar for punishing the Marathas, and that province is without a guardian. I beg that you would order Nawab Safdar Jang, who is contiguous to the frontier of that province, to come and stay for some days near Patna, so that I may repress these infidels in peace of mind." As the Emperor (26b) sent an order to Safdar Jang to guard the subah of Bihar, the latter with great splendour arrived there and, regarding it as his own kingdom, began to lay hands on the revenue and administration of Bihar. Alivardi was then in the province of Orissa chasing the Marathas; immediately on hearing of it, he without delay, put off the fight with the Marathas, set out for Patna and wrote to Safdar Jang that he had already succeeded in repressing the Marathas and needed no help, so that it was proper for Safdar Jang to return to his own province. On receiving this letter, Safdar Jang hastened back to his subah. Alivardi had not gone more than a few marches when he received the news of the retreat of Safdar Jang.

FIGHT WITH THE MARATHAS ON THE RIVER SON

As Alivardi heard that Safdar Jang had taken away two pieces of artillery from the fort of Patna, he adopted the policy of overlooking it and proceeded slowly (*ba-dar-i-taghajul jadand*). He turned his face towards Patna and expelled Hedayet Ali Khan the deputy subahdar of Patna, who was a friend of Safdar Jang. When it was reported that the Marathas had assembled on the bank of the Son, Alivardi hastened in that direction and came up with the infidels. For three

days, his troops, being invested by the enemy, had to live without food; then the heroes in desperation, attacked the enemy. The Marathas were defeated, and took to flight. [27a]

Alivardi after his victory rewarded his soldiers who had suffered so much, in proportion to every one's services.

In the year 1158 he returned to his capital. Here he celebrated the marriage of Siraj-ud-daula, which was grander even than the earlier one (that of Akram-ud-daula); throughout the entire rainy season, in every house every night was like the *Night of Barat* and every day like the New Year's Day.

VII

AT THIS VERY TIME BABAR JANG RAISED HIS DISTURBANCE AND DISPLAYED HOSTILITY

BABAR JANG REBELS, IS DEFEATED BY HAIBAT JANG

Babar Jang had been raised by Alivardi's favours in a short time to the highest rank and power, and became an object of envy to the world. Shamsber Khan and Sardar Khan, who were discontented with his ascendancy, secretly deceived him, like Satans implanting false suspicions in his heart. . . . [27b]

Instigated by them, he demanded the deputy governorship of Bihar by removing Haibat Jang. As that was not possible, his ill feeling was aggravated, till at last one day Mustafa Khan, contrary to the customary time, early in the morning came to the darbar for his audience with many treacherous men. Spies reported to Alivardi that he intended to cause a disturbance that day. Therefore, Ghulam Husain Khan, 'arzbegi, who was a wise man, detained him for an hour, outside, with charming talk, while he sent men to summon the other regularly-attending courtiers (*mujraian*). Alivardi who was preeminent among the rulers of the time for eloquence of speech, as soon as Mustafa Khan was presented engaged in talking with him in such an attractive manner that the old man was drowned in surprise and did not get his opportunity, till the crowd of courtiers had assembled.

Next day, Mustafa Khan came to the darbar near the evening (*Asar*) with his wicked intention. Alivardi did not give him audience, but evaded him. Babar Jang in his pride left the public audience hall. (28a)

Owing to the instigation of mischievous persons, another ambition was formed in his heart. He drew up a manifesto (*mahazar*) for

uniting all the Afghan sardars together and ousting Alivardi from the governorship, and began to induce the Afghan generals to affix their seals to it. Gradually his audacity increased till it became the cause of his ruin. When Shamsheer Khan and Sardar Khan brought the manifesto to U'mar Khan for him to seal it and share the Government, the latter out of loyalty tore up the paper, and opened his mouth in abusing the Afghans even up to Sher Shah. Shamsheer Khan and Sardar Khan, out of precaution lest the anger of Alivardi should ruin the entire Afghan tribe, came back to their homes in silence; their real intention, which was to give Babar Jang a bad name, was not fulfilled.

Alivardi, considering the disunion among the Afghans as a stroke of good fortune, dismissed Babar Jang, who had offered his resignation; at once gave him nine lakhs of rupees which were his due as arrears of pay, through Jagat Seth, and sent him back to his home with all honours. Babar Jang, hopeless of getting the co-operation of the other Afghans for certain obstacles, could not carry out in Murshidabad the plan that he had formed in his mind, and set out for Patna intending to wrest the governorship of that province from Haibat Jang. Alivardi set out in pursuit with a large army. When he learnt of the hostile intention of Babar Jang and of his having started for Patna in a fighting mood, he wrote (286) to Haibat Jang, who was then in the Bhuanra mahal, in no way to oppose Babar Jang. Haibat Jang, immediately after receiving this letter, replied in anger "If I do not oppose his designs and do not bring this wanderer in the wrong path to the right path, what should I do? I shall then have to withdraw my hand from Azimabad and make a gift of that province to this man. That cannot be done by this slave."

At that time in all 1400 troopers were present with this Nawab, while Babar Jang was at the head of twenty thousand. When Alivardi learnt of Haibat Jang's determination to fight Babar Jang, he again and again hurriedly wrote to him, "(Do not) desire to (fight) Babar Jang who is carrying European-manned artillery with himself. You too know his personal bravery. If, in spite of this, you insist on resisting him, remain on the defensive till I arrive with my army. Don't fight except from trenches."

Haibat Jang sent out letters on all sides, calling upon brave men to come to his side and join in the fight. He himself crossed the Ganges (back to Patna) and entrenched, as directed by Alivardi, in the garden of Ja'far Khan, which is close to the fort of Patna.

Babar Jang slew plundered and desolated all places, towns and villages, on his way, took some pieces of artillery and public money from Rajmahal by force, and advanced. When he reached Mungir he

wished to capture it. Hasan Beg Khan the qiladar, offered opposition like a brave man. The troops of Babar Jang made their way to the wall in spite of the fire from the fort, entered (29a) and took possession of it and made the qiladar with his three sons prisoners. That day, Abdul Rasul Khan, the full brother of Babar Jang, was seated on his elephant at the foot of the fort during the assault, when he was killed by a stone hurled from the fort.

When Haibat Jang heard that Babar Jang had seized Mungir fort and was marching towards Patna, he in compliance with Alivardi's instruction to avoid opposing Babar Jang as far as possible, sent Mir Murtaza and 'Askar Khan as ambassadors to him to say, "How you have behaved to Alivardi Khan and he to you, you know and he knows. I am powerless and free from guilt in this matter. I am ready to pay you two lakhs of rupees for the expenses of your journey and such materials as you desire." On receiving this message, Babar Jang rudely replied, "It is not a time for letters and messages; my two-edged sword has done and will do my work." Haibat Jang after hearing the result of this meeting, turned to strengthening his trenches even more than before, and remained ready for fighting.

When Mustafa Khan arrived within six *kos* of his trenches, Haibat Jang sent Haji Alam Khan to sue for peace. Babar Jang gave the insolent reply, "When an army of the heretics (Shias) and a force of Hindus confront me, it is my religious duty to fight the heretics first." Abdul Ali Khan, immediately on hearing these words, was delighted and in a strong religious spirit (*tassub*), presented a *nazar* to Haibat Jang on his impending victory and said, "Before this we thought that this dog bore enmity to us. But now we feel assured in our minds that he is the enemy of God, so that the holy warriors (29b) (*ghazis*) are sure to slay him . . . How can fear exist, when we bear the names of Muhammad and Ali and the honour of the Prophet?"

They passed the entire night in watchfulness. In the morning of Thursday, 18th Safar, 1158, (correct date "Thursday 21 Safar—14 March 1745). Haibat Jang mounted his elephant and stood in the centre of his trenches. Relying on God, he felt no fear at the sight of the wave after wave of the enemies of the faith, whose number suggested the day of resurrection. He marshalled his ranks; his troops in war dress stood ready (at their posts). When the camp and flags of Babar Jang with one *dasta* (regiment) of troops came in sight and passed from before the trenches, some of our men thought that there would be no fighting (that day). But while they were talking in this way, a *dasta* of troops with the flags and standards of Babar Jang Afghan appeared, and as soon as they came up opposite the trenches, he charged on horseback the trenches under Dewan Kirat-

chand, crossed the ditch, wounded the diwan and the men near him, arrived near Haibat Jang and drew up in battle line. At once from four sides *tir* (arrows) were showered, darkening the air. A *dasta* of Afghans in perfect composure began to plunder the camp. Babar Jang, seeing Haibat Jang standing in front of him with only a few men, turned to attack him. (30a) The Afghans drove their horses into the plain. Haji Sahib repeatedly fired into the enemy's ranks two guns loaded with pice, which had been placed before Haibat Jang's elephant, so that nearly 300 of Babar Jang's noted chiefs and brave soldiers were slain. Muskets were incessantly fired on the troops of the enemies of the faith. Jaswant Nagar, with some Bahlia musketeers kept up their fire. Most of them reached the enemy's leaders, and they were slain, and it seemed likely that Babar Jang would be killed or taken captive. The Afghans of (his) clan, on seeing his condition withdrew their hands from fighting, seized the bridle of Babar Jang's elephant, left the trenches, and took to flight. The victorious Haibat Jang advanced to the front of the trenches, ordered the damaged wall of the entrenchment to be repaired, and returned to his own tent, to offer prayer in humility to God.

Hakim Shah, one of the sardars of Babar Jang, who was fleeing alive from the battle, learning on the way that Awdal Shah and Aiman Shah were lying dead in the trenches, turned back alone from the field and flung himself upon the men of the entrenchment, fought heroically and after reaching the centre of the trenches was slain by Namdar Khan Main. Friends and foes alike mourned for him.

Babar Jang remained for one week encamped in front of our trenches, continually firing his artillery. Next week on Thursday 25th Safar (correct 28 Safar—21 March 1745) he again rode out, (30b) and with the speed of thunder and the wind forced his way into the trenches, leaving a *dasta* of his troops to face the trenches of Ahmad Khan and Shaikh Jahān Yār. When he arrived opposite Haibat Jang, seeing the men of the trenches to be dispersed and hard pressed, he fearlessly ran towards Haibat Jang. Diwan Kiratchand and Maharaja Ram Narayan with their guns arrived and opposed his advance. By chance a musket bullet entered the corner of his eye and blinded him, so he fled away to his tent. The author of his book has also heard it said that the bullet had hit him in his first assault. Be that as it may, Haibat Jang returned to his tent with victory and sent a report of it to Alivardi who had arrived within two days' march of him.

After a few days, at Muhib-Alipur, where Babar Jang had gone in his march to the fort of Chunar and Haibat Jang in pursuit of him, Alivardi embraced his brother and his brother's son. After continuing

the pursuit to the bank of the river Son, he returned to the seat of his government.

Alivardi on hearing of the invasion of Raghuji a second time, bade farewell to Haji Sahib and Haibat Jang, and set out for Bengal. [31a]

Babar Jang comes a second time and is slain.—After four months, Babar Jang, eager to win name and fame, assembled another army, and acquired greater power than before. He set out for Patna. Haibat Jang issued from the city to meet him on the way. The two armies met together on the bank of the Son. An obstinate battle was fought in which Haibat Jang's ranks were broken, in spite of the heavy shower of fire from his artillery and muskets. Khadim Husain Khan, the darogha of the *Khas-bardars* (porters of the ruler's own weapons) fell down wounded from his horse. A great confusion fell on our troops and Babar Jang advanced most bravely scattering his enemy's ranks. When he arrived near Haibat Jang, a musket ball entered his chest, he became senseless, and while he was thus prostrated, his *mahut* led his elephant out of the field. When he recovered his consciousness, he returned to the battle field and drove Haibat Jang into hard straits. This time Raham Khan, Karam Khan, Abdul Ali Khan and Mahdi Nisar Khan engaged in fighting him. Haibat Jang shot two *tir* (arrows) into the side of Babar Jang, which made his body inert. He gave up his life and the Afghan army was broken.

Haibat Jang, gaining the victory, reported it to Alivardi (31b). Haibat Jang, in spite of such a victory, could not pursue the army or plunder the property of Babar Jang, but after the leaderless army had crossed the Ganges, he returned to his seat and rewarded his soldiers who had fought so well.

Alivardi fights Raghuji, who is put to flight.—When Raghuji crossed the frontier of Bengal a second time with a large army, Alivardi after holding a review of his vast army, in the spring season when the day and night are equal, set out with a strong force for destroying the prosperity of the infidels. Raghuji after entering Bengal, plundered and made many places lampless. In the chakla of Bardwan at a time when the Nawab's army was resting in peace of mind, he attacked in a multitudinous body with all the Maratha troops. Alivardi immediately rode out with his army to oppose them and in spite of their superiority in numbers defeated them, the remnants of the sword dispersed in the direction of the mahal of Medinipur. Then Alivardi with his troops arranged in order, came upon Raghuji and opened a heavy fire from his guns and muskets [31a]. Raghuji, after six or seven thousand of his men had been slain, found himself unable to fight the Nawab's army, but eager to plunder started for looting Patna. Alivardi with his troops and guns moved in pursuit of him. From

Bhagalpur to the bank of the Son, which is more than 15 marches, a running fight continued between the two sides, and every day thousands were slain. On the bank of the Son, the ranks of battle were drawn up on both sides. A severe bloody action was fought, after which Raghuji turned towards Katak in flight. Alivardi pursued him to the extremity of the province of Orissa and expelled him beyond his own frontier. For some days he took rest in that subah, and then returned to his capital.

VIII

ALIVARDI SENDS MIR MUHAMMAD JAFAR KHAN TO THE PROVINCE OF ORISSA AND IMMEDIATELY AFTER HIM 'ATAULLAH KHAN [32a]

In the year 1160, Alivardi appointed Mir Md. Jafar Khan as deputy subadar of Orissa, placed Shamsheer Khan, Sardar Khan and the Bakhshi of the *bahlias* under him and sent them off to that side. When these men reached Bardwan, the Maratha army advanced, encircled them and cut off their water and food supplies. Alivardi on hearing this news, sent 'Ataullah Khan Sabit Jang and Faqirullah Beg Khan with some thousand maunds of grain for their relief. Sabit Jang after reaching the army and meeting Mir Jafar, withdrew his hand from fighting and entered into a plot with him for overthrowing Alivardi Khan. Having seduced some sardars with money and some with promise of estates and wealth, to join them, they took oaths and gave solemn promises of union. Ali Asghar Kubra, a follower of Sabit Jang, like Satan—or rather even more wickedly, planting false suspicions in their hearts, turned him and the troops back from loyalty to the Nawab, and gave the advice that Habibullah Khan and the Marathas also should be drawn into their party. Faqirullah Beg Khan and Nurullah Beg Khan, getting scent of the plot, wrote about it to Alivardi, asking him to come there as quickly as possible. Alivardi started for that side without delay, with Haidar Ali Khan, Dawar Quli Khan and the remainder of his army. The news of his approach broke the union of the traitors. They took counsel together, (33a) and all decided, in view of their conspiracy having failed, to march and join Alivardi's army and go with him wherever he would go. Sabit Jang, the leader of the conspiracy, reached Alivardi's presence with all humility, but separating himself from the Nawab's retinue, without taking *conge* went to Murshidabad and sought the intercession of Shahamat Jang and the Begams, pleading that Nurullah Beg Khan

by making false charges against him had turned Alivardi's heart from him, for he had committed no offence in fact.

Alivardi after suppressing the disturbance and punishing the rebels, returned from the pargana of Jalesar to the capital and took up his residence in the Nishat Bagh. At the intercession of Shahamat Jang he outwardly pardoned the offence of Sabit Jang but did not give him his trust. Ali Ashgar Kubra and Farid Khan Afghan, who were Sabit Jang's supporters were expelled; they were glad to escape with their lives. Some months after their expulsion, in the year 1161, he dismissed from his service Shamsheer Khan, Sardar Khan, Murad Sher Khan and the Bakhshi of the Bahlias, who had come at his summons,¹ and sent them back to their homes. In this way such a great mischief was allayed without fighting.

Haibat Jang is killed [33*b*].—When Shamsheer Khan and Sardar Khan reached their homes which were situated in mahal Darbhanga, Haibat Jang, whose brain was filled with foolish ambition, considering them to be very brave soldiers, invited them to come to him and enter his service. Alivardi on hearing of it, again and again wrote to Haibat Jang that these generals had now turned disloyal and it was pure futility to enlist them. Haji Sahib, too, dissuaded him. But it had no effect. Haibat Jang sent his trusted courtier 'Askar Khan to inspect the condition and learn the wishes of the Afghans, and invited them to come and meet him; sending them an invitation to enter his army. These deceivers, placing the *Quran* in their hands, took the oath of fidelity.

Haibat Jang, enchanted by their adhesion to him, when they arrived on the other bank of the Ganges, first went alone in a boat to see them, and after renewing the agreement and promise, ordered them to cross over (to Patna). These deceivers to the number of ten or twelve thousand horse and foot, crossed the river and alighted in Jafar Khan's garden as directed by the governor.

Sabit Jang, who was always planning how to accomplish his futile ambitions, considering the arrival of these wretches as favourable to the success of his designs, sent a letter by a footman, that first Haibat Jang should be slain at the interview and thereafter the destruction of Alivardi would be easy. These traitors saw that they could get this much-coveted country in their own possession without fighting. (34*a*)

On the day of the interview, Haibat Jang sat on his *masnad* in composure of mind, for reassuring these villains (by the absence of his armed guards). The Afghans formed three corps: Sardar Khan and the Bakhshi of the Bahlias stood with one *dasta* outside the fort, while

¹ Text corrupt. Read—"In whose salary-accounts fraud had been discovered," '*Khiyānat*' for '*hasb*'.

Murad Sher Khan with two thousand men entered the Hall of Forty Pillars on the plea of interviewing, and finding the field clear slew Haibat Jang.

The Afghans searched for Haji Sahib. That old man of ninety, set himself to escaping on foot. But the Afghans seized and confined him. He was so tortured that he died in the course of fifteen days. The Afghans extorted money from all the people of the city by torture and dishonour. The agents of the Afghans oppressed and squeezed the people beyond limit, so that the lamentations of high and low in a few days reached up to the sky. . . . As the Afghans invited their relatives and clansmen to come to them from all sides nearly a lakh of men were assembled and they raised disturbances. (34b)

Alivardi marches towards Patna ; Sardar Khan is slain.—In the year 1161 (1748 A.D.), Alivardi had set out for punishing the Marathas, when on getting news of the slaying of Haibat Jang and the captivity of his brother and daughter, he as a matter of policy, fell into helpless lamentation. The chiefs of his army on learning of it and seeing the condition of Alivardi so changed, told him, "From this kind of calamity, many other misfortunes would descend upon the people. It is now a time for action, not for lamentation." Alivardi, in order to ascertain the real feelings of friends and enemies,—there being Afghans on this side too,—replied, "The arm that I had in Haibat Jang has been broken. The pay of my army is vastly (in arrear), I have no money in my treasury, and such a (hard) struggle is in front. The remedy of the situation seems difficult." On hearing these words, as the people were devoted to Alivardi from the bottom of their hearts, high and low alike told him, "We shall not spare to do what lies in our power. We are ready to sacrifice our lives and property for you." Every sepoy and ryot promised a sum to the extent of his capacity, and prepared for fighting. So that Jagat Seth, the richest banker of the country. . . . placed a bill for sixty lakhs of rupees in Alivardi's hands, saying, "At present only so much cash is available in my *Kuthi*". Alivardi smiled and replied, "I have this amount in my own treasury, and as yet my necessity does not extend to your money." (35a) The recovery of Patna being the foremost need, he put off the expedition against the Marathas to another time, and set out from Mankara towards Patna. He issued money from his treasury for the needs of his soldiers, and thus heartened them.

At this time, Mirza Dawar Quli's son Bahadur Ali Khan, (who was one of the wisest counsellors and most intimate companions of Alivardi) was given the high post of darogha of the *jinsi* artillery.

When the Nawab's army had marched a few stages towards Patna, from other sides many sardars came with large forces and joined him.

The Afghans, who in four months, had assembled to the number of nearly two lakhs of horse and foot, were alarmed and distracted by the news of the march of Alivardi. Although Habibullah Khan, at the time of meeting the Afghans, told them "Your opponent is such a hero and you have taken the field against him. Don't be too confident and proud of your vast numbers", yet he joined the Afghans for his own profit. (35b)

Alivardi, clinging to the bank of the river, from the menace of the Marathas who did not allow him to move freely, marched slowly on, when he received a letter from Raja Sundar, to say "If you do not quickly bring relief, your family will be annihilated." When he arrived at Mungir, Raja Sundar, who was a most eminent noble, came with 15,000 horse and foot, and waited on him. As the report of Alivardi's march for conquest spread far and near, Saif Khan the faujdar of Purnea, in fear lest the Nawab's army should march into Purnea and ruin his dominion, as a measure of precaution sent Shaikh Din Muhammad with a strong force to the Ganges side. When Alivardi learnt that an Afghan corps was stationed in that region, he after a night march attacked them by surprise, and they took to flight and joined Shamsheer Khan and Sardar Khan who were near them.

The two armies clashed together at Sarai Rani, two marches from Patna. The Afghans crossed a *nala* situated there and drew up their ranks in vast numbers. Alivardi engaged in fighting them. Saulat Jang was placed on his left wing, with Faqirullah Beg Khan (36a) Bakhshi and Haidar Ali Khan (the darogha of the *dasti* artillery) leading his vanguard; the left wing of the entire army was entrusted to Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan Bakhshi and Raja Sundar. His own vanguard was commanded by Rahman Khan, Dost Muhammad Khan, Umar Khan, and Bahadur Ali Khan. Shaikh Jahanyar was ordered to guard the camp and baggage. The right side of the entire army inclined to the river.

At dawn, before the sun had risen, the battle began with artillery fire, and he advanced slowly step by step. At this time a lakh of Maratha horsemen, circling round the Nawab's army, began to plunder the camp (in the rear); and his men, who to save their lives and in fear of the Afghan sword were retreating, through divine help began to outdo each other in advancing.

Alivardi sent orders to Faqirullah Beg Khan and Haidar Ali Khan by the mouth of Sadar-ul-Haqq Khan to go to the right flank of the Afghans, Faqirullah Khan considered it unwise to go far away from the river. But Haidar Ali Khan, considering (the ordered movement) to be advisable, arrived there with his artillery and began to fire on the enemy. Bahadur Ali Khan vigorously fired his guns. A cannon

ball killed Sardar Khan. The Afghans, in spite of their losing such a sardar as Sardar Khan, advanced to fight Haidar Ali with their swords and arrows. But Haidar Ali Khan fell on them like lightning so violently that the Afghans all at once lost their firmness and set their faces to flight. Alivardi seeing the shaking of the Afghan army, ordered U'mar Khan and Dost Muhammad Khan to charge. These two heroes with their soldiers hastened to [366] attack the Afghans, but just as they were about to ply their weapons, the sign of rout in the Afghan army became manifest and they fled away in masses. Dost Muhammad Khan severed the head of Murad Sher Khan. Mirza Habib Beg cut off the head of Shamsheer Khan and flung it at Alivardi's feet. In the Nawab's army, with the exception of Karim Bakhsh(?) the grandson of Shaikh Jahan Yar, no one received a fatal wound. The Marathas, surprised at the defeat of the countless Afghan army, without plying their sword or spear fled away with the spoils they had seized.

Alivardi knelt down in prayer to thank God for this victory, and then met the harem ladies and young children of Haibat Jang, whom the Afghans had brought away as captives and kept in their camp. Other captives, too, were released from Afghan bondage.

IX.

After reaching Patna, Alivardi, unlike other men, did not ill treat the women and children of the Afghan sardars, but granted some villages for the subsistence of these widows. As Siraj-ud-daula wanted to take into his harem the daughter of Shamsheer Khan, Alivardi called her his own daughter and sent her away to her home under escort of a trusty man. Saulat Jang had asked for the deputy subahdari of Bihar, but Alivardi declined, and gave that office to Raja Janaki Ram. Janaki Ram, unlike his son, was a wise counsellor, a brave and loyal servant ; there was none like him in that family in that age.

The news of the death of Saif Khan reached the ears of Alivardi and he made Saulat Jang faujdar of (37a) Purnia. Raja Sundar who had attended out of a hearty wish to sacrifice his life for the Nawab, was granted the *naubat* and many other favours. The newly-recruited troops numbered nearly 30,000 and many of them were absent ; the Nawab ordered the author's father to review them. The sardars of the army put off bringing their followers to the muster, and my father deeming slackness (in this matter) to be expedient, whiled away the time without enforcing the order.

Alivardi who considered it a duty to investigate this matter,

appointed Nasir Ali Khan *amin* for this work. Even experienced men find this task very difficult of execution, as the Nawab's army was more numerous than the drops of rain or the waves of the sea. My father, in anger, sent the bag full of the rolls of the sheets of branding entries to the house of Nasir Ali Khan. Although Nasir Ali made attempts to pass the contingents in review, no one agreed, but many of the captains became wounded in their feelings, *e.g.*, Shaikh Jahan Yar gave up his post and left after taking *conge* for his home. Faqirullah Beg Khan, agreeing to pay one lakh of rupees as compensation, secured exemption from mustering his men. Similarly, U'mar Khan, Raham Khan, and others as well as Abdul Ali Khan who were suspected of friendliness to the Afghans, and had collusion with Sabit Jang, were ordered to be expelled from the province of Bihar.

Thus, after settling the administration of the subah of Bihar and satisfying the army and people, he set out for Bengal, where he arrived to the joy of the citizens. (37*b*)

Men who were found to be competent were promoted, *e.g.*, the author of this book was appointed *faujdar* of Ghoraghat. Orders were issued for expelling Sabit Jang ; and this time though Shahamat Jang and the Begams pleaded for him, it had no effect. As these august personages begged for a few days' respite on the ground that Bibi Rabia, the wife of Sabit Jang and the fourth daughter of Haji Sahib, was in the family way and she ought to be sent away after the delivery of her child ; Alivardi replied, "Leave this town immediately, or else I shall cut her womb open and extract the child!" Sabit Jang had no help but after repentance and lamentation to leave Bengal and go to Oudh. Arriving there in a short time he was slain by the Afghans along with Raja Nawal Rai, the deputy governor of that province. The Afghans sent his wife with his property under escort of their own men to Alivardi and by this means sought his help. As soon as Alivardi saw her he ordered her to be seated by the side of her own sister or by the side of the mother of Siraj-ud-daula, saying "You both sisters have been struck with one bereavement by the tyranny of the Afghans."

SIRAJ-UD-DAULA FLEES TOWARDS PATNA ; OTHER EVENTS

When Alivardi was away on a campaign against the Marathas, Siraj-ud-daula who had taken to drink, through the influence of Mahdi Nisar Khan, in a short time ruined himself. [38*a*] Alivardi, on hearing of this disgraceful affair forbade Mahdi Nisar Khan to visit Siraj. But Siraj-ud-daula in the pride of youth and folly of childishness, taking Mahdi Nisar Khan with himself, left the camp of Alivardi without permission and took the road to Patna. On the day when Siraj issued

from Murshidabad, that wise and true officer Ghulam Hasan Khan, 'arzbegi, wrote to Raja Janaki Ram that Siraj-ud-daula with Mahdi Nisar Khan was going there without permission and that Mahdi should be arrested in any way possible. This letter reached Janaki Ram two hours before the arrival of Siraj-ud-daula, and he had not yet warned the defenders of the fort when Siraj-ud-daula entered the city. Janaki Ram on hearing of it, sent Jaswant Nāgar to arrest Mahdi Nisar Khan. Meeting the party in the middle of the city, Jaswant slew Mahdi Nisar Khan and his comrades, carried Siraj-ud-daula with all care and honour to the mansion of Haji Sahib, and placed Mustafa Quli Khan to attend on him day and night, and urged him never to take his eyes off from watching Siraj. Alivardi, in his excessive affection for Siraj, became restless and in a few days reached Patna, embraced his grandson, and gave him fatherly advice. He favoured Raja Janaki Ram beyond limit. On account of a pain in his waist, he set out for Murshidabad by boat.

In the year 1163 (1750 A.D.) Siraj-ud-daula began to build the palace of Mansurganj,—the wonder of the world. [38b]

To-day no trace of this palace has been left and the present rulers have dug up its foundations and levelled it with the dust.

In the year 1164, the envoys of the Marathas came for making peace, but owing to the inordinate demands of Habibullah Khan, it was not effected. Alivardi sent Rs. 50,000 to Habibullah by the hand of Fakhr-ut-tujar saying, "This amount was found in your house." Habibullah, though he knew that the sending of this money was a trick, out of his greed took the money secretly without informing the Maratha sardars. When the Maratha envoys asked for the amount settled for them, Alivardi showed them the receipt of Habibullah and said that further sums would be sent. The Marathas, on learning of this payment, deemed Habibullah Khan a peculator, and being also disgusted with his harshness of tongue, slew him in the course of a discussion. When Alivardi heard how that wretch had been killed by the Marathas, and the string of the confederacy of the Marathas had been torn, he rendered thanks for this favour of God, withdrew his hand from the Subah of Orissa, and made peace with the Marathas, by promising to pay them twelve lakhs of rupees every year. How exalted was his fortune that his work was accomplished by the mere play of his brain, without his having need to send armies and fight battles!

X

1752 AND 1753 A.D.

[39a] U'mar Khan, who used to be supplied with his food from the Nawab's charitable table, was removed from his office by Alivardi and given leave to go home, which he had asked for. In the same year, Haider Ali Khan and Faqirullah Beg Khan lost their eyesight. Alivardi who was taking an account of the *sardari* of Haider Ali Khan, remarked, "The eyes of friends are always bright." He dismissed Mir Muhammad Ja'far Khan from the Bakhshi-ship and gave that high post to Qābiz Ali Khan; after a day he removed this man also, and appointed Khwāja Abdul Hādi Khan in his place.

In the year 1165 H. (1752 A.D.) Alivardi declared Sirāj-ud-daula as his heir and gave him power over the kingdom and the revenue. The faujdāri of Medinipur was conferred on the wise, devoted and brave Raja Rām *harkāra*, who was unrivalled in his work; and this man during the lifetime of Sirāj-ud-daula remained on all the frontiers of the Marathas and guarded the realm.

In the same year Shahāmat Jang, who had come to the Motijhil palace garden—built by the Nawāb—for inquiring into the health of Alivardi, gave orders for the illumination of the place in a manner worthy of thoughtful servants. But Alivardi did not like such shows; so, Shahāmat Jang prepared a dinner (*dastar-khwān*) in honour of Ali and begged Alivardi to come and read the *fātiha*. At the time of the Nawab's going to that garden, such a tumult arose that the birds of the garden took to flight as at the dawning of the day, and all mankind was wakened from sleep. With all people, high and low, Nawab Alivardi alighted in the garden. And [39b] at the time of sunset ('asar), when the illumination and the *fātiha* of the *dastar-khwān* were being performed, the lamps lighted up the eyes of the people. . . .

In the midst of the merriment and show, Shahāmat Jang and Hasan Quli Khan, brought Nawab Sirāj-ud-daula to the feet of Alivardi because Alivardi, being displeased with him for his having demolished the kettle-drums of Alayār Khan, had forbidden him his presence for some days past. Sirāj's faults were pardoned and the Nawāb embraced him.

In the same year Saulat Jang came from Purnia on a visit to Alivardi Khan. The *Holi* ceremony having been arranged in the garden of Motijhil, Shahāmat Jang kept his dear brother there for seven days, enjoying the merriment. The author was present at these rejoicings.

[40a]

During the days of the *Holi* merry-making, all the cisterns of the garden—which were more than 200 in number, were filled with

coloured water, and on all sides heaps of amber and saffron raised their heads to the sky. . . . More than five hundred fairy-like women in splendid robes and jewels, every morning and evening appeared from every corner of the garden in groups.

SOME OCCURRENCES OF THE YEAR 1166

(8 Nov. 1752—28 Oct. 1753)

Shahāmat Jang's daughter had been betrothed to Shukrullah Khan the begotten son of Sarāfrāz Khan some years before. This year Saulat Jang at the invitation of his brother came from Purnia with the materials of marriage and ceremony, to Murshidabad. At the time of the bridegroom's proceeding to the house of the bride, according to the custom of India—which is called the day of *sāchiq*. Akrāmuddaula, the full brother of Sirāj-ud-daula, whom Shahāmat Jang had brought up with all his heart's affection as a son, died of small-pox. [40b]

The marriage was postponed, festivity was turned into mourning. A lakh of rupees worth of things prepared for the marriage were looted [by order] by the bazar people. Shahāmat Jang took to his bed in grief and passed the remainder of his life in mourning. When it was learnt that Shahāmat Jang had been utterly prostrated by grief, Alivardi Khan engaged in consoling him. The public, high and low, tearing up their shirts, ran out from every corner for consoling the mind. Shahāmat Jang (at last) composed himself. He buried the corpse in the garden of Motijhil which had been constructed at a cost of three [or thirty?] lakhs of rupees. From that day onwards, Shahāmat Jang never again visited this charming garden.

One other remarkable event of this year was this: When Alivardi Khan heard that towards the *jhil* Kalantar which unites with the sea, many games such as deer, buffaloes, &c., had assembled, he set out to hunt on board boats. The officers of the nawāra fitted out the strong ships with steadying anchors, and the sail of reliance on God's favour. [41a] Nearly two thousand vessels, consisting of *ghurābs*, sloops, *bajrā*, *masuā*, *patilā*, *ulākh*, *jaliā mayurpankhi*, *ghardur*, *kosā*, *chalkar*, *bhauliā*, *pānsuhi*, and *palwār*, with gold embroidered decorations, set out in the train of the Nawab. Alivardi taking Sirāj-ud-daula with him enjoyed the trip, while the public rejoiced to behold the grand spectacle. When he had gone some stages on that side, one day at the time of hunting, some heretics [*Khawārij*] committed a wicked act; some muskets were fired at the boat of Alivardi which was at anchor in the river, but he was not hurt. It became known that the deed had been done by the order of Siraj-ud-daula by these foolish people. Alivardi remarked, "All my exertions are now for his benefit. But

as he does not know my value and does not regard my life as a great gain to him, what can be better than this that he might soon attain to his desire and release me from the worries of the time?"

In the same year 1166 H. [1753 A.D.] Raja Jānaki Rām, the deputy subahdār of Bihār died. He in his lifetime had entrusted the control of the country to his *peshkār* (head assistant) Raja Rām Nārāyan, and written to the Nawab that his sons were incompetent and unfit to discharge this duty, and therefore he had given the charge to Raja Rām Nārāyan. Alivardi too liked the man and confirmed his appointment.

XI

MURDER PLOTS

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1167 H. [29 OCT. 1753—17 OCT. 1754]

As Alivardi was not satisfied in his mind about Hasan Quli Khan, he entrusted to him the papers of my late father for auditing the accounts of Mir Md. Ja'far [416] Khan, in the expectation that owing to his strict exactions the soldiers would make a row and assault Hasan Quli. But as Hasan Quli had no intention of causing trouble or enmity, he examined the accounts with the advice of Mir Muhammad the *peshkār* of my deceased father, and declared that three lakhs of rupees were due from Mir Md. Ja'far Khan [as overdrawn and unaccounted for.] As Alivardi failed in this plan of ruining Hasan Quli Khan, he turned to the overthrow of Mir Md. Ja'far Khan and publicly told that general's soldiers to call for accounts of their arrears of pay and take the money. When the common soldiers made Mir Ja'far's lot intolerable and even put his life in danger, Shahāmat Jang took on himself the responsibility of discharging his soldiers' dues, and thus saved his life. Alivardi was at heart unwilling to agree to this arrangement, but in fear of ill repute consented. For the money which was proved from the accounts to be due from the risāladārs Rasāl Singh and Jang Bahadur—who had also been the root of the attack during the hunting in the Kalantar *Jhil*, he confined them in the *diwānkhāna*. After the entire day had been passed by the two captains in this way, the Nawāb in the evening summoned Rasāl Singh before him and said, "What row did you not make in realising the pay due to you? Why then are you delaying in paying the money due to my Government from you?" As the day of that man's death had arrived, he fearlessly gave this rough reply, "We ask from God the wages of the life-sacrifices that we have done

in your service, and you too will get from God the due return for what you are doing to us." Alivardi, stung by these words, himself stood up from his seat for slaying the man. Mir Ja'far Ali, one of the soldiers of his bodyguard, seeing this state of things, seized Rasāl Singh violently in his arms, and the two, [42a] grasping each other's neck, fell down on the ground. A barqāndāz of the guard who was standing in front of them fired his musket at them and both were killed by the same shot. Alivardi after realising the money due from Jang Bahādur, released him.

In this year Mir A'bbās Ali a kinsman of Mir Md. Ja'far Khan, was killed by one of the servants of Hasan Quli Khan. Alivardi Khan, planning that one of these two officers [Hasan Quli and Mir Ja'far Khan] might get killed, incited Mir Md. Ja'far Khan to make a fracas [against Hasan Quli], but as he had not the valour to do it, he [only] summoned the slayer of Mir 'Abbās Ali to the presence and handed him over to his relatives, so that they put him to death.

Also, in this year, a thoughtless act was done by Sirāj-ud-daula, which became the cause of a secret counsel being divulged to the public. He ordered a man named Barkhurdār Beg to murder Hasan Quli Khan on the day of the *punyā* celebration. In the midst of the busy work, when the revenue officers (*'amāl*), zamindars, traders, and clerks, were assembled, that idiot in fear of Alivardi Khan, asked him, "If you order it, I shall send him across the river." Alivardi, pretending not to have heard these words, continued to be busy in receiving the *nazars*, and did not turn to Barkhurdār, as he thought that (by such a movement) he would be understood to have given the permission, according to the proverb "Silence is half consent". But when the fool put the same question a second time, the Nawāb, seeing that his plot had been divulged but the work not done, looked at Barkhurdār Beg with angry eyes and shouted, "Get out of the *darbār*." He addressed a few sweet and eloquent words to the men present at court in such a way that every one imagined that this step had been meant for himself, and no inquiry happened to be made.

The Jagat Seths, thinking this move to be meant for them, were about to go away from the audience, when Alivardi harshly cried out, "Sit down, Sir, I am still alive." In the presence of the public he said what was proper about Sirāj-ud-daula. [42b] Shahāmat Jang, who for some days past had discontinued his visits to Court on account of feeling insulted, was now called to the *darbār*. Alivardi spoke of Sirāj-ud-daula as a child, ignorant, idiotic and mad, and thus soothed the feelings of Shahāmat Jang. From that day the Jagat Seth brothers made it their rule that never should both of them come to the audience together.

THE EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1168 H. [18TH OCT. 1754—
6TH OCT. 1755]

In the year 1168, on the [Persian] New Year's Day, as Sirāj-ud-daula after leaving Alivardi was going to his own house, some Bahlias from within the gate of the Imāmbāra built by Shahāmat Jang, fired their muskets at him, the bullets tearing the cover over his *palki*, but God saved the prince. These musketeers entering among the men of the retinue (*sawāri-e-jilau*) so concealed themselves that friends could not be distinguished from enemies. Some men were arrested purely on suspicion and confined; an inquiry was made, no one confessed the deed. Sirāj-ud-daula was at this time *dārogha* of the *topkhāna*. The *hazāris*, for the release of these men, and a crowd of soldiers on the plea of discussing their pay [due], encircled the house of Sirāj-ud-daula and stopped the supply of food and water for him, by occupying the roof and walls of his mansion. After three days, Alivardi himself went to the house of Sirāj-ud-daula, set those few men free, and pacified the tumult. Suspecting that this fracas was instigated by Hasan Quli Khan, he sought more earnestly than before for an opportunity to punish him.

XII

THE SLAYING OF AHSAN-UD-DIN KHAN, BROTHER'S SON OF HASAN QULI KHAN, THE QILA'DĀR OF DACCA.—[43a]

As Alivardi had given his heart to Sirāj-ud-daula from the day of his birth and never kept him apart from himself, but tried to teach him the art of government and administration and all the noble traits which befit a ruler of men, so much so that every misdeed done by Sirāj was treated by Alivardi as if he had not seen it or heard of it, as has been narrated in the affair of the Kalantar jhil [for example].—every thorn that he imagined in the path of Sirāj, transfixed his own loving heart, and he considered it his duty to remove it. . . . He could not pass a moment without thinking of Sirāj. But what good did all this result in?

As the hostile attitude of Husain [*sic*] Quli Khan became a rooted idea in the mind of Alivardi and, by reason of increase in the course of time, the idea changed into certainty, it reached the ears of people far and near. Muhammad Sādiq, the son of Aqā Bāqar, was one of the high officers of Dacca, and had been kept in confinement by Husain Quli Khan for some months for the sum of three lakhs of

rupees due from him. He, at a hint from Alivardi, [or] prompted by his own wicked spirit, fled away from prison and by the river route arrived at Dacca in two days. Immediately after meeting his father he took counsel with him and set out with a few old and new retainers for killing Ahsan-ud-din Khan the qiladār. The Khan, being afflicted with insanity (*janun*) was at that time lying helpless like an imbecile. That night the watch of the fort was in charge of A'rab Ali Khan and his son Mir Makhu; these men, out of their friendship with Muhammad Sādiq, opened the gate of the fort to him, and [43*b*] this dishonourable man, without having to use his arms entered the fort, and slew that helpless man when sleeping in his bed. Then closing the gate of the fort before him, he shouted to the men far and near that he had done the deed by order of Sirāj-ud-daula. After two days, when the leading men of the city came to see him and learnt that this deed had been prompted by the wicked heart of the wretch, the civil officers and servants assembled for suppressing the trouble and invested the fort. The party of wicked men shut the gate of the fort, and, firmly standing ready for fight, engaged in shooting arrows, bullets and other missiles. After one *prahar's* exertion, when Aqā Bāqar and his son Mirzāi were killed by musket shot (*muhra-i-tufang*), Muhammad Sādiq, wearing the disguise of a darvish came out of a corner and fled away. The people of the city, after their victory, sent the severed head of Aqā Bāqar to Husain Quli Khan. When the head was placed before Alivardi, he glanced aside, and repeated the verses:

"O slain man! whom did you kill that you have been
killed to-day?"

He will be killed to-morrow who has killed you to-day."¹

Husain Quli Khan, on hearing of the murder of his brother's son, became almost senseless with grief and lamented long. He saw that the only remedy was that he himself should set out for punishing those criminals, and all the high and low people of Bengal, especially the retainers of Shahāmat Jang, on account of the good behaviour of Husain Quli, wished to accompany him, and even some servants of Alivardi himself wished to join in the expedition, when news arrived of Aqā Bāqar having been killed, and the plan was abandoned.

[44*a*] Alivardi, who was a man of ripe experience of the world, and had for many years been planning in his mind how to overthrow Hasan (*sic*) Quli Khan, playing the game of deception, told his dear

¹ *Kāi kushtak herā kushti k-imroz turā kushtand? Fardā behushand urā k-imroz turā kushtak āst.* This is the Islamic law of retaliation—*qisas*. Qurān, surah V. See Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion*, X, 749—and *Encyclopædia of Islam*, ii. 1038 (under *Kisas*.)

daughter the wife of Shahāmat Jang, in severe reprimand, "If your servants had gone in the path of Hasan Quli Khan and there Sirāj-ud-daula had acted in a way hurtful to your feelings, what would have happened? Now that you have fully learnt from the hostile acts of your servants, that they are not obedient to you, think how you would live and what you would do after me, who am like the sun on the edge of the western horizon." She reported this speech to Shahāmat Jang, and explaining the full situation to him, turned his mind away from Hasan Quli Khan. Shahāmat Jang repeatedly showing anger and uttering warning to his followers, forbade them to go to the house of Hasan Quli Khan. At the wish of Alivardi, Shahāmat Jang dismissed his bakhshi Sher Yazdān Khan who was a kinsman of Hasan Quli Khan, and appointed Jamāl-ud-din Ali Khan to the post. For the same reason, dismissing the dārogha of [his] topkhāna, he gave that office to Khādīm Husain Khan; and dismissing many other relatives of Hasan Quli Khan from his service filled their places with other men.

Hasan Quli Khan, the central aim of whose labour always was not to engage in any other employment than praying for Alivardi's prosperity,—now decided to pass the rest of his life in retirement at home in the worship of God. At this time, as he had no companion (consoler) except Haidar Ali Khan, his brother, he resigned himself to the will of God. Alivardi Khan, out of his far-sightedness, informed Shahāmat Jang of his own secret thoughts, in these words,—“As Sirāj-ud-daula has not the capacity of bearing this heavy burden, and unjustly wounds people with his tongue, [44b] after me he would ruin the State in a few days and throw himself into the hands of disturbers. As neither you nor I have any heir except him, and as I do not see any men except the wise Hasan Quli Khan who can confound the administration of Sirāj,—therefore I do not deem it expedient to spare him [Husain Quli]. Though it would create distrust [of the public against us], we have no remedy except to remove him.” After securing the consent of Shahāmat Jang [to the murder of Husain Quli], Alivardi gave Sirāj-ud-daula, who was thirsting for his blood, permission to slay him, and himself with the men who were supposed to be partisans of Husain Quli, went out of the capital on the plea of hunting.

That very day, Sirāj-ud-daula at the beginning of the night went to the house of his aunt [Ghasiti Begam] and by insistence secured her consent [to the murder]. On his return journey he stopped before the door of Hasan Quli's house. His servants, by his order, entered the house, and brought away as prisoners, Haidar Ali Khan from the house of Hasan Quli Khan, and Hasan Quli from the house of Hāji

Mahdi, the 'arz-begi of Shahāmat Jang, to the presence of Sirāj. At that time Haider Ali Khan, from his natural bravery, loosening his tongue in censure, recited the services and life-sacrifices that he had done. Hasan Quli Khan, watching thoughtfully the spectacle of God's workshop, wept and did not turn his eyes to any other side; gladly accepting the will of God, he remained engaged in prayer to God. Sirāj-ud-daula not paying any heed to their words, gave orders for killing them; immediately the order was obeyed and these two innocent men were put to death.

It is the author's belief that from the day when Hasan Quli Khan's life was ended, the blazing sun of Alivardi's fortune began to decline. [45a]

When the mind of Alivardi Khan became reassured as to this side, he dismissed nearly 300 men who were hitherto employed in the *risāla* of Mir Md. Ja'far Khan, and deprived that Khan of his trust.

Appointing Sabārat Khan as qila'dār of Dacca, Alivardi sent Raja Rāj-Ballabh the diwān to that side for attaching the property of Aqā Bāqar. From his house about a *kror* of rupees, in cash and kind, came to the Government treasury.

In this year, Fakhr-ut-tujār, out of the enmity which he bore to the English told Alivardi, "If you decide on rooting out the English, three *krors* of rupees can be gained by your Government from Calcutta." Alivardi replied, "I have quenched the fire on land in twelve years after shedding the blood of thousand [s of] Muslims and infidels. And you now wish me to throw into tumult the fire of the sea, so that the prosperity of land and water in all Hindustan would be consumed!" And after rebuking, he told him, "In either event, if I triumph [over the English] men would condemn me by saying that I was plundering the traders of my kingdom. And if, God avert it, the contrary happens, I shall be incurring disgrace at the hands of subjects of my own kingdom." Telling Sirāj-ud-daula this story, he left as his parting advice that he should not undertake this thing [i.e., attack on the English] at the suggestion of anybody after himself.

DEATH OF SHAHĀMAT JANG.—[45b]

On 13th Rabi'-ul-awwal, 1169 A.H. = 17 Dec. 1755 A.D. Shahāmat Jang died of illness. [46a]

According to his will, he was buried by the side of Akrām-ud-daula in the Motijhil garden. Alivardi Khan, from the day when he went into mourning for him, became every day afflicted by one illness and used to say in a pained tone, "Ah! this shirt is too warm!"¹ and

¹ Ah! *garā shikkhāst*. Or. *shak* meaning doubt, suspicion?

he ordered the work of the diwān's department and other offices which belonged to Shahāmat Jang, to be done by the wife of that prince. He showed her fatherly kindness. She, obtaining his permission to live in Motijhil, removed with her property and followers from Murshidabad and entered that garden.

In those days, Alivardi, with all his intense grief, busied himself in beholding *murgh-bāzi*¹ and told his courtiers mournfully, "It is evident that after me, ruin will quickly overtake my family, because all who had any capacity have left before me." Only a few days had passed after the death of Shahāmat Jang when news arrived from Purnia that Saulat Jang was dead.

DEATH OF SAULAT JANG

Though simple-minded in conducting the small matters of administration, he greatly cherished holy men, pure souls, scholars, and men of accomplishments, and promoted the Holy Law. He [46b] placed the Muslim religion above everything else. He surpassed other rulers in charity, and whatever came to him from far and near of the kingdom he used to give away without checking by auditor or accountant. A few days after the death of his brother Shahāmat Jang a pimple appeared on the neck of Saulat Jang, which no doctor could cure.

At last knowing his death to be near, he called his sons and gave them his parting directions. He made Shaukat Jang, his eldest son his heir (*wasi*), bade farewell to every one of his sons, helpers, and friends, and resigned his soul to the Creator.

Shaukat Jang buried him in the village of Ja'fari bāgh. Alivardi Khan greatly mourned, and then sent to Purnia a *khilat* of mourning and a *sanad* for installation in his office to the eldest son of the deceased, by the hand of the author's mother, who had come from the same [*Cor.* read *hamān* for *hamah*] place for offering condolence for the death of Shahāmat Jang, together with a verbal message of consolation worthy of elder relatives.

XIII

DEATH OF NAWAB ALIVARDI KHAN

DEATH OF SHUJA'-UL-MULK, HUSAM-UD-DAULA MUHAMMAD

ALIVARDI KHAN MAHABAT JANG.—[47a]

When illness overcame Alivardi, he placed himself under the treatment of Hakīm Hādī Khan before whom Galen and Ptolemy

¹ *Murgh-bāzi* means cock-fight. I suggest the reading *marg-bāzi* or the play of death, havoc in his family circle.

had to bend their knees. But medical science cannot cure what is the last of diseases. Finding his death near, he summoned Sirāj-ud-daula, and told him, "My death is near. My last advice to you is that you should devote all your heart to the suppression of your enemies and the promotion of the dignity of your friends. Exert yourself in improving the condition of the people of the country and putting down oppression and disorder; so that your life will be passed in happiness and fortune. As the prosperity of the State depends on union and co-operation, and its ruin on quarrel and opposition, if your rule is to be based on agreement and obedience, it is necessary that you should remain firm in following my manners and ways, so that till the end of your life you will remain safe from the dominance of your enemies. But if you take to the path of quarrel and hostility, it is very likely that this State will so decline from its good name that for a long period grief and regret will prevail." [47b]

On Friday, at the time of the *Zuhar* prayer, 9th Rajab 1170 [cor. 1169 A.H.=9th April 1756] after uttering the words of the oneness of God (*Kalima-i-tauhid*), he resigned his soul to God. Universal grief and lamentation. He was buried in Khush-bāgh, where his mother lies at rest.

Great God! he was a marvellously fortunate man, because immediately after his departure, prosperity departed from the kingdom of Bengal, and the desolation of the country which had been chained by his justice, at once returned to its old condition. [48a]

The city of Bengal [*i.e.*, Murshidabad] in his reign extended over 12 kos in length and 7 kos in breadth; in addition to this, many rich men had built pleasure-houses outside the city. Twelve persons were entitled to play the *naubat* morning and evening. Many kinds of people, high and low, and all classes of artisans and men of skill and letters were assembled in this city.

In this reign, more than a lakh of men, horse and foot, used to get their pay and subsistence (*marsum wa 'olufa*) from the public treasury.

XIV

CHARACTER OF ALIVARDI KHAN

[48b] I shall here narrate a few anecdotes which illustrate Alivardi Khan's extreme love of justice, greatness of soul, spirit of forgiveness and bravery.

One day Sirāj-ud-daula reported, "Much money has accumulated in the houses of the civil officers (*mulasadi* and *āhal-kār*), and you

are in need of money. If you permit me I can collect a *kror* of rupees from them, and they will not at all feel the loss." Alivardi replied, "The money in the hands of the people of this country is my wealth which I have consigned to their purses (*lit.* their treasuries). Who has the audacity to cast the glance of speculation towards this money?"

Sirāj-ud-daula sent a posse of bailiffs (*chauki*) to the house of Raja Kirat Chand, the diwān of the Crowlands who had died a long time before, and demanded a large sum. Alivardi as soon as he heard this news, himself rode out to the diwān's house, thrashed severely and sent away the eunuch of Sirāj-ud-daula who had come for escheating the property, and gave robes of honour to the widow and young children of the deceased, and after composing their minds returned to his palace. Summoning Sirāj-ud-daula to his presence, he told him, [*Verses*]

From your door [plaintiffs] come away to me,
They do not go to God who knows all secrets.
Do not be hard on the people of the earth
Lest their prayers should reach the sky.

Sirāj-ud-daula said to Alivardi, "In front of my mansion is the portico (*iwān*) of Raja Mānik Chand the diwān of the Raja of Bardwān, and it obstructs the spaciousness [open view] of my house. I wish to remove it from before my residence. Alivardi replied, "You have built a lofty mansion and thus obstructed the top of his house, and this poor man is being troubled by you. As you have many other palaces, it is proper that you should demolish the mansion that you have built before his house, so that he may live at ease." [49a.]

Kishwar Khan A'sis, when patrolling the city at night had detained at the police outpost a carriage belonging to Sirāj-ud-daula in which Faizu Bāi was going from Sirāj's house to her own. Although Sirāj-ud-daula tried to get her released during the night, it was not done. So, in the morning he promptly reported the matter to Alivardi and expected that Kishwar Khan would be punished. The Nawab remarked, "How could he know at midnight who it was and what it was? Overlooking such things [*i.e.*, breaches of police regulations] is only a cause of increasing the boldness of thieves and criminals."

At the time when the report of the pomp [*i.e.*, wealth] of the leading men of Bengal spread through the world, and traders from all countries began to visit the court and Sirāj-ud-daula and Shahāmat Jang purchased the commodities of these merchants at high prices, calumniators reported this [extravagant] expenditure to Alivardi. He replied, "The business of these men in my kingdom is to sell their

goods." And they asked, "What thing will last in this world for ever?" [Gap in the text] . . . He remarked, "What you have said is not true, because the fame of honour and reputation for goodness will remain [in the world] till eternity."

It was reported to the Nawab that every poor man, at marriages and when receiving guests or giving away alms for religious purposes (*sadqāt*), was spending thousands, and all of it was Government money. Alivardi remarked, "Those who were acting thus are engaged in keeping my name alive, while you are truly my enemies, as you desire that my name and fame may not [*cor.*] remain in the world." [49b]

When Shahāmat Jang became displeased with Mirzā Ali Naqi the dārogha of Motijhil, and wished to dismiss him from his post, Alivardi replied. On the first day his goodness or badness should have been investigated by you. If you now dismiss him, people will lose composure of mind about you."

From Dacca boats loaded with the goods of Shahāmat Jang were coming; Mirzā Hakim Beg, dārogha of customs (*sāir*) attached them for realising the duty. Shahāmat Jang complained to the Nawab, "I am not a trader that the dārogha of customs should demand duty from me." Alivardi replied, "What would the duty on them amount to?" Mirzā Hakim Beg answered, "A lakh of rupees." Alivardi rejoined, "My child, my life! if you have bought them for such vast sums, you may as well pay the money which is the Government's due. To be angry for it would be a cause of weakening the officials engaged in the work."

The author of these pages was the faujdār of Ghoraghāt, and I, without taking leave of Alivardi went to Purnia to Saulat Jang, and was there appointed faujdār of Rāngāmāti. Bhairo Datt, the peshkār of the Crownlands, reported to the Nawab, that the faujdār of Ghoraghāt was absent and had gone away without permission; and he sought for orders to retain him or not. Alivardi replied, "I know that he will not agree with Saulat Jang, and that he will come back to me in a short time. I cannot avoid looking after his sustenance [*cor.*] Therefore, it is not proper to remove him from office for a few days, as he would rely on the uprightness of my nature." [50a]

In his reign, every helpless person and every widow in the country was supported by his charity, and the name of thieves and robbers was not heard. If any one's property fell on the road, nobody cast a glance at it, till the owner arrived. To-day everything is contrary to this. In these few years safety has become as rare as the phoenix in this country; every day work is diminishing. Tribes of oppressors have raised their heads in tumult. The roads

have been made so dangerous by men and beasts that it is difficult to come out of a house, nay even to remain in it. [50b]

Alivardi's tenure in Bengal was 17 years and some months, in addition to his deputy governorship of Bihar.

XV

REIGN OF SIRĀJ-UD-DAULA

THE RULE OF SIRAJ-UD-DAULA

Mansur-ul-mulk, surnamed Sirāj-ud-daula, on 15th Rajab 1170 H. [*cor.* 1169 H. = 15th April 1756] seated himself on the *masnad* of rule. Vast assemblage of troops and sightseers at the ceremony.

When after finishing the merriment and music of the coronation, he turned to the administration of the country, some men who were not worthy of being his advisers, now getting the power of speaking to him, opened their tongues in censure and turned his heart away from the confidants and sardārs of Alivardi Khan, and raised suspicions in his mind against them. First of all, they made him believe that the Begam Sāhib, who was living in [51a] Motijhil with her troops, servants and wealth, was a source of danger and harm to him. He sent her a message to give up creating trouble and come to her mansion in the city. She refused to disband her troops and remove to Murshidabad, saying that she was residing there as ordered by Alivardi Khan, and was passing her days like a religious mendicant at the tomb of her husband, and the few men with her were her old retainers, whom she had not the heart to dismiss. The destroyers of Sirāj's state took this opportunity and for their personal gain made him believe that Begam Sāhib was in such concert with the sardārs of Alivardi Khan that not remaining content with such words she would at last raise her head in rebellion.

Sirāj, believing their words, became suspicious of Begam Sāhib and sent troops to invest Motijhil. Although there were five to six thousand horse and foot within it at the time the siege began, after two days none remained there except Mir Nazar Ali the Khansaman, Rājballav the diwān, Hāji Mahdi the 'arzbegi, and Ali Naqi Khan the son of Akbar Ali Khan. The first men to slip out of the blockade were Mirzā Ghulām Ali Beg, the son of Mirzā Hakim Beg, and Mir Qudrat-ullah *risāladār*.

Sirāj-ud-daula, in spite of the desertion of all the troops of the Begam, believing in the words of worthless men was filled with fear and despair, and sent a letter promising safety under his own seal to the troops, for reassuring the mind of Mir Nazar Ali, ordering them to

bring him to his presence under their own mediation. Dost Muhammad Khan who was a most devoted and brave soldier, replied, "There is no need for our becoming mediators ; but give us the order and we shall bring to you in chains every man whose fidelity you suspect." As Sirāj did not agree to the proposal, Dost Muhammad Khan took Mir Nazar Ali out of Motijhil to his own house. After two days, when at the suggestion of foolish [51*b*] men the Nawab decided to slay Mir Nazar Ali, Dost Muhammad Khan, who was a man of honour and had brought [Nazar Ali] under his protection at the word of the Nawab, sent to him to say, "It was in view of such a day that this slave had told you that it was not at all proper for us [soldiers] to be mediators [for Nazar Ali], and as you did not agree at that time, I shall now become his partner." For two days there was discussion and exchange of messages. Then Sirāj, who had no natural valour, again inclined to mercy, and sending Ihtarām-ud-daula and Ghulām Husain Khan '*arzbegi*, to the house of Dost Muhammad Khan, consoled and reassured Mir Nazar Ali and gave him leave for the Karamnāsā side, and confiscated the house of his uncle Shahāmat Jang. Besides jewels, four *krors* of rupees and forty lakhs mohars in cash, and a *kror* of rupees worth of vessels of gold and silver, were found. As for the treasure and property which were collected at other places, God alone knows their full value.

This was the first desolation of Bengal, where four high darbars and the wealth of four houses were collected in one place.

Sirāj then decided to carry out his heart's wish of conquering Purnia. But after going up to Rājmahal, he set out for attacking Calcutta and expelling the English.

XVI

CAPTURE OF CALCUTTA

SIRAJ-UD-DAULA LEADS AN ARMY TOWARDS CALCUTTA AND DESOLATES THAT COUNTRY

When it was reported to the Nawab that the English had built an extremely strong tower [*burj*, Perrins' Redoubt] and wanted to raise a fort, and also that the son of Rājballav, with his [52*a*] money and property had fled and taken refuge with the English, the Nawab during the march towards Purnia sent Nārāyan Singh *harkāra* for bringing away the son of Rājballav and demolishing the tower. Nārāyan Singh after going to Calcutta behaved towards the Governor and the sāhibs of the Council, out of folly, in a manner not proper for them, and the English sāhibs turned him out of Calcutta and

sent envoys to the Nawab, to say "If we have built a tower, order us and we shall demolish its foundations; whatever amount is due to you from Kishan-das the son of Rāja Rājballav, order it and we shall pay it into your treasury. But we cannot surrender him to you as he has taken asylum with us."

The story of the son of Rājballav that has reached the author's ears from the talk of the common people, does not deserve credence.

Nārāyan Singh arrived at the Nawab's camp when he was at Rājmahal, cast his turban down on the ground and said, "What honour is left to us, when a few traders, who have not yet learnt to wash their bottoms (*hamoz bākun-shustan kho-gar nashuda*), reply to the ruler's order by expelling his envoy?" He also said words of reproach so much that the Nawab's anger was inflamed. Fakhr-ut-tujār, who bore hearty enmity to the English for a long time past, and had spoken against them to Alivardi Khan as has been narrated before, now getting his opportunity, spoke some words about the contumacy, usurpation and violence of the English, which inflamed the Nawab's anger. Sirāj-ud-daula on hearing such words, with a vast force turned back from Rājmahal and in one night's march came and alighted at the back of the *kuthi* of Qāsimbāzār. From the way he sent a letter to Jagat Seth warning him not to speak one word in the affair of the English whose extirpation was the aim of the Nawab, because it would pain his heart and his wish was to suppress them totally. [52b] The Jagat Seths obeyed the order.

Some Englishmen who were in the Qāsimbāzār *kuthi*, shut the gates, and although they offered submission, begged pardon and proposed to pay a fine, the Nawab did not pardon them, because Fakhr-ut-tujār had assured the Nawab that three *krors* of rupees could be taken at Calcutta and there were not more than 200 Englishmen in that *kuthi*. Mir Md. Ja'far Khan, in eagerness to secure the post of Bakhshi which the Nawab had promised to him, confirmed the words of Fakhr-ut-tujār. The Nawab considering all that money as his free gain, took the few Englishmen out of the *kuthi* of Qāsimbāzār and cast them in prison, and set out for Calcutta. Mir Md. Ja'far Khan, for a long time past had been living in the hope of the Bakhshigari; Sirāj summoned U'mar Khan through him, and also sent Mir Md. Razā Khan, surnamed Muzaffar Jang, who was the faujdār of Katwa at that time, with a *dasta* (regiment) of troops by way of Hugli to the sea, for the purpose that in case the English tried to escape in ships he would prevent them from going out of the country.

Sirāj-ud-daula himself with his army set out and by way of

Krishna-nagar reached Calcutta. As the English sahibs did not think that they could defend the entire city, they fortified the factory [only] and waited in readiness for war and peace. The men of [Sirā's camp] bazar, who entered the town of Calcutta engaged in plunder, took away lakhs of rupees worth of property and set fire to the houses. The Nawab's troops by his order invested the factory and tried to wrest it.

Ghulām Husain Khan *'arzbegi*, . . . in this matter every day used to tell the Nawab, "It is opposed to prudence and caution to quarrel with the English who are flames of fire." He was ordered to be expelled from the camp. [53a] Similarly, Zain-ul-'abidin *baqāwal*, who spoke against this war, was turned out of the camp ; also Mirzā Habib Beg and Mir Hāshāullah, who out of their regard for their master's good, spoke out, were taken to be disaffected persons and expelled.

For some days the fire of fighting raged, and the fall of the strongly fortified factory seemed imminent, the English sahibs not finding themselves capable of fighting [longer], and despairing of peace, took ship and set out for the ocean. And some among the Englishmen of honour (*chaldār*) who saw the path of flight closed to them, killed themselves out of excessive self-respect ; and some men were taken prisoners. Muzaffar Jang who had been appointed with a *dasta* of troops to prevent the passage of the English ships and was stopping on the river bank could do nothing on account of his lack of materials. Fakhr-ut-tujār had said that the plunder of Calcutta would bring 3 *krors* of rupees to the Nawab's Government ; it was indeed capable of yielding that amount, but the effects of the other traders, such as Muslims, Hindus, Armenians, were all plundered by the camp followers and the Nawab's only gain was a bad name. The Nawab's share [of the spoils] was specially dependent on the money in the factory. But the English sāhibs loaded in their ships and took away with themselves all the money and valuable articles existing there. The little property of the factory which was secured by the Nawab's Government did not come up to the amount that he desired. For this reason, Muzaffar Jang was dismissed from the *faujdāri* of Katwa in punishment of the offence of having let the English ships go away. Mir Muhammad Ja'far Khan, who in the hope of the First Bakhshi's post had greatly exerted himself in capturing the factory, was exalted to that high office as before.

The *qila'dāri* of Calcutta was given to Raja Mānik Chand who had some power of administrative management, bravery, and goodness of behaviour. The Nawab named Calcutta Alinagar, and set out for his capital. [53b] On the day of his arrival at

Murshidabad, he came in boats. (The splendour of his entry¹ was indescribable). An author who would describe that occasion adequately must gather leaves (paper) from the trees and pens from bamboo groves.

XVII

CONQUEST OF PURNIA

Entrusting the affairs, great and small, of the State and the appointment and dismissal of all officers to Raja Mohan Lāl, he conferred many kinds of favour on him. When the Raja got full control over all affairs, he did not behave towards the intimate courtiers of Alivardi with proper respect; the civil officers (*mutasaddi*) of Alivardi's time whom the Raja, by reason of his domination, treated as mere servants in the presence of the Nawab,—especially Maharaja Durlabh Rām, Rāy-i-Rāyān Ummid Rām and Raja Sakat Singh, were wounded at heart. A letter had been sent through Mir Md. Ja'far Khan summoning U'mar Khan asking him to come to the Court in perfect assurance; and at the time when the Nawab reached the capital U'mar Khan arrived and had his audience; all his desires were granted. [54a]

SIRAJ-UD-DAULA LEADS AN ARMY AGAINST SHAUKAT JANG, WHO IS SLAIN

In the year 1170 H. [= 26 Sep. 1756,—14 Sep. 1757] when Shaukat Jang, according to the order of Alivardi Khan had assumed rule over Purnia, he was alarmed and filled with suspicions at Sirāj-ud-daula's coming to Rājmahal, as I have narrated before. By way of precaution and defence, he in a few months, in spite of the paths being closed, assembled nearly six thousand cavalry and fourteen to fifteen thousand infantry, and in the pride of youth, childishness and inexperience,—in spite of the dissuasion of Shaikh Jahān Yār, who was the chief and wisest of sardārs, withdrew his head from obedience to Sirāj and prepared to oppose him. With the coming of Mir Mu'alla Khan and Mirzā Habib Beg, the flame of disturbance shot up to the sky, and the mutual hostility so increased that a peaceful settlement became impossible. These two men, who were the young Nawab's confidential advisers, out of selfish greed, gave him such advice as was really harmful to his interests. The character

¹ Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57*, vol. i. p. cviii, ascribes the triumph to the conquest of Purnia.

of Shaukat Jang was naturally violent and impulsive, and it now became more rude and vicious. For example, alienating without any cause Udwant his chief *hazāri* (artillery captain), he banished him from Purnia; unreasonably posting a guard at the house of Mir Ruh-ud-din Husain Khan, estranged him from himself. Without waiting for the coming of Sirāj-ud-daula, he sent Mir Mua'lla Khan with Lalli *hazāri* and other troops for conquering Mālda and other places near Purnia. The Khan, after going to Manihāri, which stands on the frontier of Purnia, found no strength for advancing further, and wrote to Shaukat Jang alleging that illwill and lack of co-operation on the part of Lalli *hazāri* had prevented him from crossing the frontier of Bengal. In order to deceive the [54b] foolish Nawab, he addressed him as *Jahānpānāh* (Emperor) in the letter. Shaukat Jang sent a letter of censure to the *hazāri*, telling him to obey the orders of Mir Mu'alla Khan like his own. Lalli *hazāri* was proud of his valour and had 2,000 troopers and 6,000 infantry in his *risāla*. He in reply sent a letter to Shaukat Jang saying, "Your Highness's flag-bearing elephant is enough to serve as a *Law tura* unto me. Please send it to me that I may set out for Bengal with it, and reach as far as God wishes."

On receiving this letter Shaukat Jang, who was displeased with the *hazāri* and did not at all understand the Persian language, formed the notion that the *hazāri* had asked for the flag-bearing elephant out of ambition to become his equal, as Saulat Jang had declared the *hazāri* his "adopted son" [as an honour]; and that for this reason the *hazāri* was disobeying his order and refusing to serve under Mir Mu'alla Khan. So, in anger, he recalled both these captains. When they arrived, he forbade him the Court and said that he would next day himself ride out and drive out the pride of that deceitful rebel. At night during the private council, Mir Mu'alla Khan gave him a certain advice, and he refused to listen to the other courtiers who spoke against this policy as ruinous to himself.

Next day when the Sun rose, Shaukat Jang got his troops ready, and although at that time the chiefs of his army pleaded for the pardon of Lalli *Hazāri*, presented the sons of the *hazāris* to the Nawab, and said that it was unwise to alienate the commander of six or seven thousand troops at such a time,—Shaukat Jang did not listen to them. Seating Mir Mu'alla Khan in the back-seat of his own elephant, he set out for slaying the *hazāri*. The *hazāri*, out of loyalty, forbade his soldiers to come out of his house [for battle.] He himself, in the manner of the Hindus, with naked head and foot, came out of his house, sat down on a bench and engaged in smoking his *huqqa* of cocoanut. [55]

When Shaukat Jang arrived with all his troops at his place, Mir

Sultan Khalil risāldar went to the hazāri, took him up on his elephant, and brought him to the Nawab. There, too, Shaukat Jang did not listen to the pleadings of people for Lalli, but after keeping him in confinement for two or three days, sent him away from Purnia, and placed his *risāla* under one of his favourites. This act became the cause of reproach from high and low.

Some days after this trouble, on hearing of the coming of Sirāj-ud-daula's troops, Shaukat Jang, at the suggestion of Mir Mu'alla Khan, himself set out for the invasion of Māl̄da, and ravaged many villages near Māl̄da. When he was encamped at Hayātpur, Mirzā Habib Beg, privately told him, "All the sardārs are dissatisfied with you and have formed a pact for deposing and imprisoning you." In the council held next day at night, when all the sardārs were assembled, Shaukat Jang begged the pardon of each of them and asked why they were offended with him, and told them to their faces the story [of conspiracy] alleged by Mirzā Habib Beg. Then Shaik Jahān Yār who was a leading sardār, swore on the Zulfikār, and said, "We shall only gain infamy if we seize you at such a time as this. Your improper acts have certainly wounded our feelings. Some low persons on account of their being close to your person, say this sort of thing to you, and become the cause of disturbance and mischief. We know not to what stage they would carry the affair, and at what time the fire of their envy would be extinguished."

Shaukat Jang, on hearing these words, for conciliating his sardārs, turned Mirzā Habib Beg out of his court with every disgrace, and himself returned to Purnia with all his sardārs for the *ḡāṭiḡa* of the Imān of Mankind.

Sirāj-ud-daula, seeing that Shaukat Jang was mad and his good counsels to him had produced no effect, began to suspect all the sardārs of Alivardi from the whisperings of back-biters, summoned to his aid Maharajā Ram Narayan from Patna, and after the arrival of the Maharaja at Rajmahal, ordered the Ganges to be crossed. He himself started on the 14th Muharram 1171 (*cor.* 1170 H. = 9 Oct. 1756) at an auspicious moment for Purnia. [55b] Shaukat Jang, hearing the news, pleased Shaikh Jahān Yār and Shām Sundar the bakhshī of the artillery, with the gift of horses and elephants, and sent them to fight well and dig entrenchments. He himself, on the 19th Muharram [14 Oct.] after encouraging all the troops with presents, came out of the city of Purnia. He never refrained from witnessing dances all the night, which had become a habit with him, from his fifth or sixth year to the day of this battle.

On 22nd Muharram [17 Oct.] when the battle was raging violently, he slept in perfect ease till one *prahar* of the day. When he rose from

his bed, he prepared for combat ; and after traversing ten kos, when less than one *prahar* of the day remained, he reached the trenches, and ordered Shām Sundar Bakhshi and Shaikh Jahān Yār to issue from the trenches and engage in fighting the enemy. Sirāj-ud-daula's army, too, arrived on the field at the same time. First Shām Sundar Bakhshi, issuing from his entrenchment opposed the Bengal army and began a severe fight with muskets. Shaikh Jahān Yār, who was a man of great and varied experience, at first sent to Shaukat Jang a message, saying, "Only one watch of the day is left, and no time for fighting remains. Our troops too have not yet recovered from the fatigue of their march [from Purnia], and indeed, many of them have not yet come up. So, you should recall Shām Sundar from the field, put off the battle tonight, so that next morning what God wills may quickly come to pass."

At last the Shaikh on receiving harsh and bitter replies to his letter, became weary of life and turned his face to the battlefield. But he had not reconnoitred the field of battle, and it was his fault, because he had arrived there some days before and yet had not surveyed the ground. So, at the first charge, he with his troops became involved in the river of mud. A cannon-ball struck his son-in-law down from his elephant's back. Most of the [Purnia] troops being ruined and wounded at this place, took to flight. The sardars with a few men only issued from that ruinous [marshy] place with the greatest trouble and halted for a short time for collecting their followers ; some foot-musketeers of the enemy's army had advanced before the rest and taken post in the midst of the bushes (*botā-hā*) and opened fire. [56a] The bullets of these few men struck down Kārguzār Khan Bakhshi, Muhammad Sa'id Khan the son of Abu Turāb Khan, Lohā Singh hazāri and other captains. At this time when Dost Muhammad Khan and U'mar Khan were confronting him, Shaikh Jahān Yār, mortified by the death of his son-in-law, dismounted from his elephant and turned to flight. Some say that he himself had been wounded by a bullet. His grandson (*nawāsa*) Abdul Rashid with one trooper named Shaikh Ghulām Ali, after a little fighting, gave up his life in battle. Jānbāz Beg Khan, and Mir Mu'allā Khan with all the soldiers fled away. Mir Sultan Khalil who was a brave man, in spite of his *mahut* being killed, directed his elephant in the battlefield with his feet, at first fired some muskets that he had at hand, then turned to repelling the enemy with bow and arrows. When the enemy came near his elephant, he plied his spear. At last his enemies crowded round and clinging to his elephant wanted to mount it, he drew his sword and turned back some men from mounting to the top. One of these men who had climbed up to his *hauda*, was slain by this pure-blooded Sayyid with his dagger, and he himself fainted away from his numerous wounds.

Dost Muhammad Khan, admiring his valour, prevented his enemies from killing him. At this time his elephant left the field and brought its master to his house. After two days his pure soul took its pilgrimage to heaven.

Mirzā Habib Beg and Ali Naqī Khan the son of Hedāyet Ali Khan, who had stood firm and refused to incur the disgrace of flight, were killed. Their fault was that they refused to fight when in the field, and did not ply their weapons before the enemy.

On the left wing of Shaukat Jang, where Shām Sundar the bakhshi the dārogha of the *dasti tophkhāna* fought heroically, he was killed by a musket shot. He waged the battle so vigorously, that he carried with him two elephants [56b] with their *haudas* filled with silver and gold rings; and while the bullets were being showered like rain, he knelt down and rewarded with a ring every foot-musketeer who showed any bravery.

The right [sic] wing was emptied of Shām Sundar and the left of Jahān Yār Khan, and Mardān Ali and Mithan Lāl diwān, and some other men who were in the vanguard of Shaukat Jang, being unable to contend turned to flight, and Jasārat Khan the brother of Shaukat Jang, with a *dasta* of troops went away from his company, and his other brother Mirzāi Sāhib was wounded by a zamburak ball,—Shaukat Jang, with the innate valour which is the characteristic of his family, entered the field with six or seven horsemen only, and stood firmly opposite Mir Md. Ja'far Khan. The men who were with him urged him to flee, but he replied, "Flight from death cannot succeed." [*āz marg gurez pesh-raft nist*, I have inserted *āz* here]—and repeated the verses:—

"If I die with a good name, it would be proper.

I ought to have the name, as my body belongs to Death."

At last from the shower of bullets that fell on him, he chose the plank of the bier in place of the *masnad* of kingship, and on that gift of a mount [i.e., *bier*] his body was carried to Purnia. The turban of Shaukat Jang had rolled down to the ground from the shock; some people carried it as a present to Sirāj-ud-daula who was staying one day's march behind the field of battle.

Shaikh Bahadur Narnauli, an old servant of Shaukat Jang, had lost the use of his hands and feet from former wounds. Shaukat Jang had left him in the trenches in charge of his family and gone into the fight. Seeing the Nawab killed, he came out of the trenches with two hundred cavalry into the battlefield; and after the flight of the troopers of his party, he threw himself down from his elephant and gave up his life. By chance he was the only man buried on the field of battle.

The victorious Sirāj-ud-daula sent Rāja Mohan Lal to Purnia to

regulate the country and escheat the property ; with him were appointed Mir Kāzim risāldār, Bal Krishan hazāri, Kishwar Khan 'Asis and Mirzā Zain-ul-'Abidin *baqāwal*. Maharaja Rām Nārāyan was greatly rewarded and sent back to Patna. Considering U'mar Khan and Mirzā Ghulām Ali Beg, for their friendship with Mir Md. Ja'far Khan, [57*a*] as his enemies, Sirāj removed them from his service and gave them leave to go home, but secretly sent an order to Maharaja Rām Narayan to keep them in strict confinement. Then he returned to Murshidabad in gold-decorated boats with every pomp.

Through the intercession of Dost Muhammad Khan, Mirzā Habib Beg and Ali Naqi Khan were punished a little and then exiled.

Maharaja Mohan Lāl after coming to Purnia, engaged in searching for the property of Shaukat Jang and Saulat Jang. When it was ascertained that Shaukat Jang in his lifetime had given away to the people every thing that he had, leaving nothing in his house, Mohan Lal began to seize and confine the well-to-do men, and confiscated whatever he found with anyone. Mir Mu'alla Khan, Sanjar Ali Khan, Aqā Mir, Mir Abdul Hai, and Mirza Md. Ali were imprisoned and after one month sent to Sirāj-ud-daula, who excepting Sanjar Ali Khan cut off the noses of the other four and mounting them on camels paraded them through the capital in disgrace, and then sent them to perpetual imprisonment in Patna. The author of this book was kept among the prisoners in Purnia for 19 days, and then at the intercession of the mother and daughter of the Nawāb Sāhib he was released. Taking the necessary articles for the journey such as boats, etc., from Raja Mohan Lal, I set out for Murshidabad, by order of the Nawāb. While I was halting a few days at Rajmahal in fear of Sirāj, *harkāras* again came, conducted me to my house, and took from my father a receipt. For this offence I was deprived of the faujdāri of Ghoraghat, which was given to Mir Raushan Ali Khan, dārogha of the Nawab's own diwānkāna. From the midnight sighs of the old men of Purnia, Maharaja Mohan Lāl fell seriously ill ; leaving his son for administering Purnia, he set out for Murshidabad.

Maharaja Rām Nārāyan, by order of Sirāj, confined in the centre of the city Mirzā Ghulām Ali Beg, Mirzā Hakim Beg, Ahmad Ali Khan, and Hasan Qulī Khan,—who had been expelled [from Murshidabad] after Mirza Ghulām [Ali], and Mir Mu'alla Khan and others, and attached their property. U'mar Khan and [57*b*] his two sons Dalīl [sic] Khan and Asālat Khan with 700 troopers were invested in Ja'far Khan's garden. And all these prisoners obtained their release after the murder of Sirāj-ud-daula ; only U'mar Khan, who had been disgusted with life, died in prison. Ghulām Husain Khan'arzbegī, who had been dismissed from his office for the offence of pleading for

the English and was sitting down idly at home, was, after Sirāj's return from this expedition imprisoned with great dishonour; then taking three lakhs of rupees from him Sirāj at the entreaty of the Begams permitted him to return to his own house. The brothers and wives of Shaukat Jang were sent to Dacca and kept in confinement.

Two months had not passed after this affair, when news came of the coming of the English sāhibs.

XVIII

ENGLISH CONQUEST

THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH, THEIR CAPTURE OF CALCUTTA, FIRST DEFEAT OF SIRAJ-UD-DAULA

When some years before this, the English and the French had been fighting between themselves, the French, by fraud—which is the special characteristic of the hat-wearers,—had captured the English factory of Madras, and seized many English merchantships; on hearing the news of it, some men-of-war with troops had been sent from England against Pondicherry; and the English had triumphed owing to quarrels among the [Governor] General, Colonels and Council of the French, and reduced the French-built factory of Pondicherry to the dust. In the year 1170 [1756] when the news of the sack of Calcutta and the slaying of the English sāhibs [there] reached Madras, the admiral [Watson] with one ship of war and Colonel Clive Sābit Jang with a force of sepoy and white troops, set out for Calcutta. Raja Mānik Chand, unable to resist, took to flight, and the Admiral entered Calcutta without fighting, and he sent a proposal of peace to Sirāj-ud-daula. The Nawab, roused by the news of the defeat of Raja Mānik Chand, imagined this time to be the [58a] same as the previous one, and set out without delay for fighting. With men who were food-tasters and therefore worse than heritage-holders [*sic in orig.*] he reached Calcutta and encamped in a garden near the factory which was not fit for his residence, and did not reconnoitre the ground, which is the first duty of generals. The chiefs of his army, especially Mir Md. Ja'far Khan told him that the place was not suitable for a camp, it being situated on the road and the Europeans were famous for their night-attacks; but he would not listen to them, and stayed there. The English sāhibs, in their customary manner, took to deception and embarking all their troops in ships, sent a few men on the pretext of embassy and spied out the disposition of the camp and the paths of coming and going. One night for delivering a surprise attack they

alighted from their ships, entered the camp where all the troops, on account of the incompetence of their chief, were asleep in negligence, and raised the shout of attack. The whole army was disturbed, and finding themselves unable to offer fight, more than half the force in the remaining night took to flight.

Dost Muhammad Khan in his own tent and Khwāja Abdul Hādī Khan on the way when going to the Nawāb were wounded. Muhammad Irij Khan Bahadur, upon whom the English soldiers had turned, without turban or shoes arrived at the Nawab's side and shared with him the work of finding a remedy. As it was the winter season, the atmosphere up to one *prahar* of the day was so charged with darkness, dust (smoke?) and night-dew (mist) that none could see his neighbour; the servants from their own distressed condition could not attend to their master's condition. The English sāhibs, with composure of mind, wandered through the entire camp. When the air became clear, Raja Mānik Chand went up to the factory and finding nobody [on the way], returned without gaining his object. The sardars [58*b*] assembled and told the Nawab as an excuse that they had tried to dissuade him from camping there only in view of such a day.

Sirāj and his comrades, in mortal fear, disregarding the advice of his generals to continue the war with better arrangements, sought to make peace, and calling up the envoys of the English he agreed to such terms as they demanded, undertook to pay compensation for the sack of Calcutta, gave robes of honour to the English sāhibs, and that very day set out for Murshidabad. Travelling very fast he entered his palace of Mansurganj, and engaged in playing the *Holi*. At the request of the French, he appointed Bālkishan hazāri with a force to help them. Leaving Raja Durlabh Rām and Mir Md. Ja'far Khan with a strong force at Agradwip, for opposing the attack of the English, he issued orders for making trenches and ditches around the mansion of Mansurganj, and ordered the route of the river of Suti to be blocked; Kishwar Khan was given this task, and he in a few days built a dam like a hill. By the advice of fools, he sent away Raham Khan, like whom there was no sardār at the time, to Patna.

Mir Md. Ja'far Khan and Raja Durlabh Ram at the time when they were at Agradwip, on hearing that Sirāj-ud-daula was sunk in pleasure and completely negligent, and seeing the fame of the valour of the English spreading in all quarters of the sky (*lit.* horizon), seized the opportunity and sent an envoy most secretly, to the English sāhibs, professing their own friendliness and instigating them to make war on the Nawāb. . . [59*a*] Sirāj-ud-daula on hearing of the disloyalty of this servant called him to his presence, and dismissed Mir

Md. Ja'far Khan along with Khādim Husain Khan, and deprived Raja Durlabh Ram of his trust even more than before.

At this time news arrived of the defeat of the French by the English. As I have said, there was enmity between these two races. When the English composed their mind about Sirāj, and recovered their own settlement, they turned to the rooting out of the French, near the garden of Ghirety. There was fighting between them. As the French had sunk two ships in the river and closed the path for the coming of the English ships, the Admiral became distracted in mind on hearing that the French, with their mind at rest about the river, were fighting bravely on land from [their] trenches. At last, under the guidance of a Frenchman who knew the thing, a path was found, he brought a war-vessel up opposite the French factory, and from land and water opened such a fire as covered the earth and the sky. . . .

As it was God's will that the French should be overthrown, a fire-ball from a French ship which was aimed at an English ship for setting it on fire, rebounded and fell on the French ship and consumed it entirely to ashes. So the [59b] French, losing all hope of their navy, retired to the top of the citadel of the factory and fought on desperately for some days more from dawn to sunset, till numberless defenders were slain or wounded. The French despairing of help from Sirāj-ud-daula, hoisted the English flag on their factory seeking safety, and yielded the keys of the gate.

The English during this fight had discharged some guns towards the fort of Hugli, so that Mirzā Muhammad Ali the qiladar, fled away to Murshidabad. Nearly 200 Frenchmen, unwilling to be taken prisoners by the English, fled away with Bāl Kishan Hazāri who had been placed there by the Nawab for helping the French. They came to the French Factory of Murshidabad before Mons. Law. The English reduced the Factory [really the fort D'Orleans] of Farās-dāngā to dust, plundered everything that they found there and returned to Calcutta. Mons. Law, finding the Nawab weak, worthless and foolish, with a few Frenchmen and some artillery set out by the land route for the Deccan. When some men advised Sirāj to make the French his retainers at such a time, he replied that if he entertained these men, the English would become his bitter enemies. He told Mons. Law to stay at Patna whence he would be summoned at the Nawab's need. At this time, Dost Muhammad Khan, on account of the wound he had received in the night attack, took leave for going home, and after reaching [cor] the city [Patna] died. He was very brave, high-spirited, and a man of gentlemanly manners; from a risāladār of five troopers he had risen to the command of 500 cavalry; in every battle he had done deeds of distinction.

After the defeat of the French, Sirāj-ud-daula became even more suspicious of Mir Md. Ja'far Khan than before, appointed Khwāja Abdul Hādi Khan as Bakhshi and ordered Sayyid Mirzā to take muster of the contingents of Mir Md. Ja'far Khan and Khādim Husain Khan [60a].

The Nawab, not content with doing this, sent harsh bailiffs to expel the two generals. And these two generals, who were stronger than the other generals, assembled their troops in their houses and sent to the Nawab to say, "Send us the pay due to our soldiers, so that we may make our arrangements and leave you." Finding Jagat Seth and Raja Durlabh Ram as their ally, they sent repeated messages to the English through Mirzā Amīr Beg to say, "We have won over all the troops to our side, and have exerted ourselves greatly to disperse the soldiers (*i.e.*, induce them to desert). All have become hostile to Sirāj-ud-daula and on account of his bad deeds wish that the rule of this country should pass out of this family. This is the most opportune time."

The English sāhibs received this message and becoming convinced of the hypocrisy (*i.e.*, treachery) of these men, they decided to march towards Murshidabad, and with a firm heart prepared materials for conquering the country.

Sirāj-ud-daula in spite of the circulation of news about his enemy's [preparations] remained sunk in negligence and enjoyment of pleasure. His confidants, especially Mir Madan and Khwāja Abdul Hadi Khan, grieved at this slothfulness and told him, "The predominance of the English has passed the limit of moderation, and they have determined to conquer this country. Making exertions after the flood has risen above the head, will not bring safety. Don't delay in attending to the business [of defence], because the duration of the kingdom, the regulation of [60b] the administration and the safety and prosperity of the people, cannot be effected without a keen sword, right planning, great carefulness, and great exertion. Mir Md. Ja'far Khan is treacherously bent on ruining this royal house; he should be first destroyed and then it will become easy to deal with the English."

But some traitors gave him this advice, "Without assembling a vast army, it is beyond the range of possibility to fight the English. If you conciliate Mir Md. Ja'far Khan and others whose feelings have been wounded, the English troops will never find it possible to face our heroic soldiers. If women and children come to offer resistance from housetops (*bāmhā*) with bricks and stones, they can overpower all in the difficult narrow streets of the *mahallās*."

As flatterers had gained complete sway over the rulers of Hindustan

in recent years, Sirāj gave up his intention, and took no thought about the intentions of the Christian army.

Mir Md. Ja'far Khan, whose seed planted so many years ago was not sprouting up in the soil of revenge, was always planning with a party whom he thought to be his friends, how to put down Sirāj-ud-daula.

Suddenly at this time news arrived that Colonel Clive Sābit Jang had set out for the capital of Bengal with a party of English soldiers, opposed to whom even the flash of lightning becomes powerless, and the fire of royal guards (*haras*) without keenness Sirāj-ud-daula restored Mir Md. Ja'far Khan and Khādim Husain Khan to their former offices, and making Shaikh Khairullah Khidmatgār as his medium for conciliating them, placed the Qurān between them and himself and made peace with them on the condition that after victory over the English, the risālas Mir Md. Ja'far Khan and Khādim Husain Khan would be gladly given conge [disbanded]. To this effect a paper was written and after being signed by the [two] sardars was placed before the Nawab. At that time Mir Madan said, "One ought to be very careful about his mortal enemy. At this time we ought not to expect any good service from these sardārs. We ought to put them down first, so that the [61a] English, on hearing the news, will of themselves take to flight. The presence of these two in our camp will be the cause of distraction and anxiety to us (the loyal generals); and they are sure to practise treachery." But Sirāj-ud-daula, not listening to him, turned to fighting the English.

XIX

PLASSEY

SIRAJ-UD-DAULA FIGHTS WITH THE ENGLISH IS TOTALLY DEFEATED
AND PUT TO DEATH

On the 2nd Shawāl, 1170 H. [20 June 1757 A.D.] Sirāj-ud-daula after conciliating Mir Md. Ja'far Khan, started from Mansurganj for repelling the English. After two or three days, the rival armies came in sight of each other; the English entrenched themselves in the park of Plassey, and busily engaged in firing on their enemies. Sirāj-ud-daula, placing Raja Mohan Lal and Mir Madan in the van of his army, himself remained in the rear as the support of these two. Bahādur Ali Khan, the dārogha of the jinsi artillery, out of his fidelity, without any order from the Nawab, engaged in opening fire. Mir Md. Ja'far Khan and Khādim Husain Khan, at a distance of one kos on the left hand of the Nawab, stood as spectators. Maharaja Durlabh Rām, also took post

portrait
x

two kos away from our army, on the right hand of the English army, and looked at the spectacle. The *baklias* (musketeers) grieving that the sardār was [61b] not attending to the business, stood in ranks in one corner of the battlefield and were butchered by the fire of the enemy. Some men, who disliked the smell of gunpowder, fled away to one side. Some Frenchmen, who parting from Mons. Law had remained with the Nawāb, carried their guns to near the English trenches; although they asked for reinforcement and materials, none listened to their words, because patience is remote from the eyes and hearts of the people of this country. . . .

However, Mir Madan who made great efforts to push to the front, was hit by a cannon-ball in his stomach and died. Nawāb Sirāj-ud-daula, losing heart at the death of Mir Madan, called Mir Md. Ja'far Khan with a thousand entreaties before himself, and taking off the turban from his head said that he must defend the honour of the Nawāb. Mir Ja'far Khan out of his treacherous design said, "Only four *gharis* of the day remain. The English troops are in great power and spirit. Signs of weakness and defeat are visible among our soldiers. On account of their exertions throughout the day, our men are not in such a good condition that in reliance on their support we can put down such powerful enemies as the English. It is advisable and our final safety depends on this that you should now order our guns to be brought back from the field and placed within the entrenchment, so that our men may pass the night at ease. Tomorrow we shall see what can be done."

I have heard that Mir Md. Ja'far Khan had intended to murder the Nawab at the time, but refrained from the design on account of the large number of [loyal] troops present. Sirāj without asking any of the experienced soldiers present before him, at once recalled Mohan Lāl from the field, and sent orders to Bahādūr Ali Khan to bring the artillery back to the entrenchment.

As soon as the Nawab's soldiers turned back and his guns were taken back, the English sāhibs, being strengthened [62a] at heart, placing their guns in front, began to fight [again]. Sirāj-ud-daula, on seeing the signs of weakness and defeat among his troops, told them, high and low, about the good qualities of Alivardī, and said, "The effect of handing Bengal over to the English will be nothing but ruin and loss. Fight bravely now, that you may not be ranked among cowards." But as the retreat had utterly destroyed the order of the troops, none listened to these words. In a short time all the soldiers turned their faces away from the battlefield.

The Nawab waited for an hour with some *khawāses* but seeing the supremacy and power of the English, necessarily took to flight towards

Murshidabad. Entering the palace of Mansurganj, he summoned Jagat Seth and laid the head of humility at his feet, and told him, "Turn the English back by taking on yourself the payment of any amount for which the English may agree to make peace." Jagat Seth who was not composed in mind about Sirāj, and out of his friendship with Mir Md. Ja'far Khan, was his enemy, agreed to the request in the presence of the Nawab; he secured the release of Ranjit Rai, his wakil who was in confinement, took his conge, and sent Kundāmal Munshi as his envoy to Mir Md. Ja'far Khan, to say, "Why are you delaying in coming to the capital?"

In the night of the day in which the enemy triumphed, it rained heavily. Hence the chiefs of the army could not at all attend to the condition of Sirāj-ud-daula or assemble before him. [62b] Next day, Sirāj-ud-daula turned out of the house nearly five hundred women, with the food and dress that they had with them. That day, up to midnight he stayed in Mansurganj, and thereafter decided to go to Patna.

At midnight getting into a *rath*, with his wife Lutf-un-nisā Begam and his three years old daughter, and one eunuch, he set out for Bhagwān Golā to take boat there. Owing to the darkness of the night, the trouble and the excess of mud, the *rath* of the Begam became separated from his. So he reached Bhagwān Gola alone and there getting into a boat called Bhaolia with the eunuch, decided to go by the route of Malda, because on the [other] way at Rājmahal the brothers of Mir Md. Ja'far Khan lived. Arriving at Malda, he told the eunuch to go to the dārogha of the baskets of mangoes [which used to be sent to the Nawāb] and tell him to send the footmen under him to him. That merciless infidel, put the eunuch in prison and planned to arrest Sirāj and wait on Mir Md. Ja'far Khan with such a present! But God willed it otherwise; the eunuch escaped, came back to his master and told him all the facts.

Sirāj seeing dangers coming to him from all sides, in distraction had no help but to turn the reins towards Rājmahal. Alighting in the outskirts of Rājmahal, he revealed his identity to a faqir living there thinking him to be a man of God, but that dark-hearted man, at once sent the news to Mir Dāud, the brother of Mir Md. Ja'far Khan, who came with some men and seized Sirāj-ud-daula. From Murshidabad, Mir Muhammad Sādiq Khan the son of Mir Md. Ja'far Khan, himself came by forced marches [63a] against Sirāj, placed him in a cart (*chakra*) with every disgrace and took him to Murshidabad; on that very day he ordered Muhammadi Beg to despatch him. When he after giving twenty wounds could not finish the work, he sent a Mughal from among his comrades, who with one blow of his dagger ended

the life of Sirāj. His body was placed on an elephant and paraded through the town with ignominy. When the elephant arrived at the house of his mother, she rushed out with bare feet and head and flung herself at the feet of the beast, but the servants of Khādīm Husain Khan forcibly turned her back. When the elephant arrived below the terrace (*bālākhāna*) of Khādīm Husain Khan, he out of his shamelessness, threw a *thān* of cloth on the corpse for shrouding it at burial.

When Sirāj's dead body was at last thrown into the market square and nobody turned to wash and bury it, Mirza Zain-ul-'ābidin baqāwal, keeping in view the oldness of this family and preparing for his own death, bathed the murdered man's body, put it in a coffin and buried it by the side of Alivardī's tomb. His reign was for fifteen months.

Mir Md. Ja'far Khan becomes ruler ; the English gain control over Bengal.

[64a] After the distribution of the territory and treasures [of Sirāj], Mir Ja'far and Miran divided between themselves the wives and concubines of the late Nawāb. Although both father and son, under the stimulation of brute passion, asked for the hand of the honoured wife of Sirāj-ud-daula, namely Lutf-un-nisā Begam, she declined and sent this reply, "Having ridden an elephant before, I cannot now agree to ride on an ass."

ĀHWĀL-I-MAHĀBAT JANG

BY YUSUF 'ALĪ

INTRODUCTION

Yusuf 'Alī's history of 'Alivardi Khan, the Nawāb of Bengal, Bihār and Orissā (1740-1756), was left by its author in an incomplete and unrevised form, without the usual preface (*dibācha*) and colophon (*khatima*), only a few of the section headings (*surkhī*) have been supplied, and spaces left blank for the others. We do not know even the title intended by the author for this work. The Sālār Jang ms bears the name of *Āhwāl-i-Mahābat Jang*, the Asiatic Society's ms *Āhwāl-i-'Alivardi Khān*, and the Patna University ms *Kitāb-i-Tawārikh-Nāmah*, evidently given by their owners. The work is not complete as the account of 'Alivardi stops abruptly in 1168 A.H. one year before that Nawāb's death, and the reign of Sirājuddaulah begins on the very next page (f. 89a.).

The author's apology for the defects of his book, namely the lack of dates and disorder in the chronological arrangement of events after 1742, is given on f. 27b. He was ill, out of employment, and in danger of imprisonment and confiscation of his property by the restored Nawāb Mir J'afar, in punishment of his fidelity to Mir Qāsim 'Alī Khān (the ex-Nawāb.) To add to his distress, his father Ghulām 'Alī, a trusted comrade of 'Alivardi and collector of crown-lands (*diwān-i-Khālṣa*) for Bihār, died at this time. So, to compose his mind, our author, then under medical treatment in Allahabad, set himself to continuing the history of 'Alivardi from the year 1743 onwards. This resolution was implemented in the last week of February 1764, and though the author lived till 1770, he evidently laid this book aside after a time, without giving it the final shape.

Yusuf 'Alī was married to a daughter of Sarfarāz Khān, the Nawāb of Bengal (1739-40). By her he had a daughter named Jariat-uz-Zuhra, who was married to the more famous 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān, a man of vast learning and extraordinary talents, who, after serving the Bengal Nawābs with distinction, accompanied Warren Hastings to Benares (in 1781), where he was appointed Chief Magistrate (really Judge) and held that office till his death on 31st August 1793. The son-in-law is famous for his historical work, *Tārikh-i-Ibrāhīm Khān*, (completed in 1786), of which a translation has been published in Elliot and Dowson, viii. 257-297. His brother Qāsim 'Alī's line is represented by the zamindārs of Husainābād in the Mungir District.

Yusuf 'Ali briefly refers to himself in this history on folios 6b, 22a, 27b, 63a and 67b. For a fuller account of him we are indebted to the industry and scholarship of Professor Sayyid Hasan 'Askari, M.A., B.L., of the Patna College. (See *Proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1945 Peshawar meeting, pp. 45-48.) Among his other works are *Hadiqat-us-Safa*, a *Tazkira* of Persian poets, and a *Majmu'a*,—this last being a compendium of miscellaneous information covering 336 folios, which is analysed by Prof. 'Askari in the above paper. From this *Majmu'a-i-Yusufi* we learn that our author accompanied Nawāb Mir Qāsim in his flight from Bihār after the capture of Patna by the English (6th Nov. 1763), and reached Allahabad (3rd Jan. 1764), but when the ex-Nawāb set out with Shujāuddaulah of Lucknow to conquer Bundelkhand (Feb.) and fight the English in Bihār, Yusuf 'Ali abandoned the fallen fortunes of his master and stayed behind in Allahabad on the plea of illness. On 13th June 1764, he set out from Allahabad for Patna, but lay under the wrath of the new Nawāb Mir J'afar. However, his powerful friends, Dr. Fullerton and Mir Muhammad 'Ali, managed to secure a respite for him, and he returned to Murshidabad in October. The death of Mir J'afar on 6th February 1765 freed him from all danger.

The value of this history of 'Alivardi lies in its authenticity; it has been copied in many places word for word by Ghulām Husain Tabātabāi in his famous *Siyar-ul-Mulākhharin* (completed in 1786) *Manuscripts*—(1) British Museum, Add. 27316, folios 102 (reign of Siraj begins on f. 89a, and the book ends with his murder.) (2) Asiatic Society, Bengal. Ivanow's Catalogue I. p. 65, Society's own collection No. 205, folios 77, fourteen lines to a page, a defective copy, ending abruptly. (3) Patna University Ms. No. 35992, contains 79 folios (1a and 79b blank), 15 lines to a page. Ends abruptly at the end of f. 85b of the Br. Mus. ms. Previous owners—John Havelock 1199 A.H. (1785) and Radamohun Baboo. Not at all helpful; the cunning scribe has got over obscurities in the text by writing spirals which make no sense. (4) The Sālār Jang (Haidarabad) ms.

In the Br. Mus. ms., owing to disorder of leaves in its source, from f. 77a line 3 to folio 78b, line 2 should be taken out of that place and put after f. 87a line 3.

ĀHWĀL-I-MAHĀBAT JANG

I

[1a] The ancestors of this exalted person belonged to the race of Turks. His grandfather was connected with the Emperor 'Ālamgir as his foster-mother's son¹ (*rasā'*), and was enrolled among the

¹ In Hindusthani, *dud-bhāi*; in Rajasthani *dā-bhāi*.

mansabdārs. His father Mirzā Muhammad Madani was *silānchī* (table superintendent) to Prince Muhammad Ā'zam Shāh. Early in the reign of Ālamgir, a son was born to Mirzā Muhammad, who was named Mirzā Āhmad. Ten years after this, in one of the cities of the Deccan, this august personage ('Alivardi) took his birth and was named Mirzā Muhammad 'Ali. During his childhood, on account of the intimacy of his parents, he used to visit the harem of the prince. When he reached the age of maturity, Mirzā Āhmad was appointed to the charge of the butlery (drink department) and Mirzā Md. 'Ali to that of the gold-embroidery and sometimes to the superintendence of the elephant stables, of Prince Md. Ā'zam Shāh. Very often [16] they had the honour of speaking to the prince.

After the death of Ālamgir, when a war [of succession] broke out among his sons, Mirzā Md. 'Ali accompanied Md. Ā'zam Shāh with great steadiness, and received a bullet (*tir*) wound. After the prince had been slain [8th June 1707]. Mirzā Md., Mirzā Āhmad, and Mirzā Md. 'Ali retired to seclusion (i.e. unemployment,) in proof of their fidelity to their old master. But as it is necessary for men to seek their daily food without resorting to meanness, (*baqadr-i-mālā-yadd*), after some time this august personage entered the Wālāshāhī cavalry (*risāla*), under Āmānat Khān Naqda..... Samsāmuddaula and other [nobles.] In the end, his lofty spirit disliked such unworthy employments, and prompted by his sense of honour and pride, he (resigned and) retired to seclusion in his own house like a pearl into its shell.

At this time Mirzā Āhmad went on a pilgrimage to Hejāz, and after some years returned to India. As this exalted personage was greatly feeling the pinch of poverty, and the star of his fortune was in the ascendant in the eastern country,—prompted by the voice of the invisible world (i.e.) the call of his father, Mirzā Md., who was living at Katak under Shujā'-ud-dīn Md. Khān,—he in the first year of Muhammad Shāh's reign (1719) started for Bengal, with a view to going to Orissa, with his wife and daughters, in the greatest helplessness (i.e., poverty.)

When he reached Murshidabad, as Ja'far Khān [Murshid Quli I.] showed no favour to him, but rather, (2a) as the well-known tradition goes, wanted to do him harm,—Ja'far Khan's wife, out of regard for their distant relationship, give him warning about Ja'far Khan's hostile intention and advised him to go to Katak. So 'Alivardi started for that place, relying on God's help, and interviewed Shujā'-ud-dīn Md. Khān, the son-in-law of Ja'far Khān, who was then (deputy) governor of the province of Katak. The Khān honoured his noble guest, assigned a monthly pension of Rs. 100 on him, and on seeing

him endowed with good judgment and other high qualities, ordered him to conduct certain works of the revenue department. When these tasks were done admirably well, he appointed 'Alivardi to some important faujdārships [district magistracy] in the province.

At that time two or three refractory zamindārs of that country had raised the standard of revolt. Shujā-ud-din Md. Khān sent many of his high officers and troops under 'Alivardi to suppress these disturbers. This hero, with great bravery, suppressed the rebels, very nicely restored the broken administration of these districts, and returned with victory.

Shujā'-ud-din Md. Khān, on seeing the wisdom, acuteness of (2b) genius, bravery and dexterity of 'Alivardi, knew him to be the chief supporter of his administration, and increased his rank.

About this time, Mirzā Āhmad, who after his return from the Holy Land, had become known under the title of Hāji Āhmad, at the invitation of his brother, turned his face towards Bengal, along with his sons, Md. Razā, Md. Sa'id, and Md. Hāshim. When they arrived at Katak, Hāji Āhmad was given a salary of Rs. 50, and his sons Rs. 30, 20 and 15 respectively and taken into service.

II

When Ja'far Khān died [on 30th June 1727], his grandson Sarfarāz Khān, the son of Shujā'-ud-din Md. Khān, sat on the *masnad* of ruler, as his heir. Shujā'-ud-din Md. Khān, on getting news of it at Katak, although he had a strong desire for the Governorship of Bengal on account of its dignity, yet considering that if he set out to wrest the country from his son and by chance failed to get it by peaceful means, war with his son would become necessary, desired to give up that intention. At last, by the advice of this sagacious counsellor ('Alivardi), he decided to start for Bengal. When he arrived near Murshidabad, Sarfarāz Khān at first at the instigation of some wretches, thought of fighting his father. (3a). But when goodness took root in his heart, he gave up this mischievous design, hastened to welcome his father by advancing, and deemed it proper to submit to his father in every matter.

Shujā'-ud-din Md. Kh. after occupying the throne of Bengal, deemed his attainment of this dignity as due to the wise advice of this unrivalled counsellor and afterwards did not transact any affair, great or small, of the kingdom without the consent and advice of this august person ('Alivardi). Appointing him faujdār of Ākbarnagar (Rājmahal), he conferred on him a high mansab from the Emperor and the title of 'Alivardi Khān. Hāji Āhmad was appointed to the

charge of the *Sair* (land customs) of Murshidabad, and Mirzā Md. Razā, Bakhshi of the (Nawāb's) menial servants.

Shāh Khānam, the step-sister of Hāji Āhmad was at this time married to Mir Md. Ja'far Khān the son of Sayyid Āhmad Najafi. Details about this Khānam, who later attained to the subahdāri of Bengal, will be shortly after narrated in this book.

'Alivardi, after being entrusted with the charge of Ākbarnagar, set out for that place. As all the business of his government was made by Shujā'-ud-daula (*sic*) dependent on the advice of 'Alivardi, the latter used to visit Murshidabad once every year. 'Alivardi having fully gained control of all the affairs of government and finance, the settlement of every business as advised by 'Alivardi was immediately agreed to and executed by Shujā'-ud-daulah. And 'Alivardi, through his shrewdness of intellect gained such a knowledge of the mind of Shujā' that as soon as an idea (or wish) was formed in the breast of Shujā', before he could speak of it. 'Alivardi divined it, and every plan suggested by 'Alivardi was adopted by Shujā'-ud-daulah, through his excellent good counsel.

At the time that the Emperor Muhammad Shāh appointed Samsām-ud-daulah Āmir ul-umārā as nāzim of subah Bihār, *vice* Fakhr-ud-daulah,—Samsām-ud-daulah, who was the medium of Shujā's business at the imperial Court and eager to promote his interests, appointed Shujā' as his deputy in the government of Bihār. Shujā', deeming it inexpedient to go from Bengal to Bihār and finding none of his comrades and kinsmen competent for the task, wished to send one of his sons, either Sarfarāz Khān or Muhammad Naqi, as his deputy to Bihār. But Sarfarāz's mother refused to part with her son, and (the Nawāb) did not deem it proper to send Muhammad Naqi Khān, who was from a different mother; and nobody else was (*4a*) found fit for such an important charge; so, Shujā' urged 'Alivardi to take this office. 'Alivardi at first declined, but on being repeatedly pressed he agreed. The wife of Shujā'-ud-daulah, who had worked upon her husband to confer this post on 'Alivardi, after taking from him (oaths of) fidelity, ordered 'Alivardi to appear before her harem and receive the robe of office as (*nāib*) subahdār of Patna. After putting the Khil'at on, he went to Shujā' to offer his thanks; Shujā' gave him a sword, a dagger, a jewelled *sarpech*, a *jigha*, one elephant with a *hauda* (*tarābil*, towers), and other presents. After a few days, in the 15th year of the reign of Muhammad Shah (which began on 9 Rabī S. 1145 A.H., 18 Sept. 1732) he gave 'Alivardi *congé* for Patna. 'Alivardi went there and occupied the seat of governor.

¹ Md. Shah's reign was officially counted from the day of deposition of Farrukhsiyar. He actually sat on the throne on 15th Ziq. 1131 A.H. = 18th Sep., 1719.

As 'Alivardi conducted the administration of that province in (4*b*) the most excellent way, he by order of Shujā', came to Bengal the next year and interviewed Shujā'. After investigating certain charges which had been the cause of his being summoned to Bengal, Shujā' covered the Khān with his favours a second time and sent him off to his charge. In the course of these years, at the request of Shujā', 'Alivardi received (from the Emperor) the lofty title of Mahābat Jang and a fringed *pālki*.

III

In the 21st year of Muhammad Shāh (1739), Shujā'-ud-daulah died (on 13th March 1739) after 12 years of governing Bengal, from long-standing mutually contrary diseases and prostration (*saqut*) and his son 'Alā-ud-daulah succeeded to the governorship as his heir. His Highness was indeed a unique one of the age in respect of propriety and rectitude. Though every kind of the instruments of pleasure and repose was ready to his hand, and he was of youthful age, he did not at all incline to these things, but fully engaged himself in performing the five daily prayers with the *nawāfil* in the mosque, fasting continually for the three months Rajab, Sha'bān and (5*a*) Ramzān, the 12th and 13th days of the new moon, in every month, Thursdays, and especially on every day on the merit (eminence) of which there is a Tradition. He considered it his duty to recite and copy the *Qurān*. During his rule for one year, throughout which the author of this book was constantly in attendance on him day and night, he never saw a single instance of righteous anger on his part—not to speak of unreasonable passion! All the inhabitants of his realm, being saved from oppression, slept in composure of mind, and every group of men earned their livelihood without difficulty.

But the essence of the matter is this that, in spite of these noble qualities, this Nawāb was forgetful of the art of governing and commanding others, and the requirements of vigilance and caution,—which are necessary in this world. Hence not having any share of worldly wisdom, he fell a prey to the deception of his enemies. Unlike the kings and governors of the present day, who are bent on injuring and disgracing all who had been officers or comrades of their fathers and grandfathers and all who had enjoyed honour and exaltation before their own accession—Sarfarāz Khān did not at all change the position and treatment of any of the persons appointed by his father or his personal friends, but retained each of them in his former post. The three chief pillars of the State of Shujā'-ud-daulah were Rāi-i-rāiān (the Officer of the Khālsa), Jagatseth, and Hājī Āhmad. Although the new Nawāb knew for certain that these three, especially Hājī Āhmad

were his enemies, yet he did (5b) not fail to treat them well and to honour them in any way, outwardly or inwardly.

But many of the nobles and ministers of this Nawāb, such as Mir Murtaza, Hāji Lutf 'Alī, Mardān 'Alī Khān and others, who bore a long-standing enmity to Hāji Āhmad, at this time spoke words of scoffing and insult to him, and always mentioned to the Nawāb, in diverse ways, many instances of Hāji Āhmad's disloyal intentions and enmity,—which had occurred in all directions. And so, (at last) the Nawāb took away from Hāji Āhmad the seal of the *divān*-ship, which he had held since the days of Shujā'-ud-daulah, and gave it to Mir Murtaza. He also wished to dismiss the Hāji's (*khes*) son-in-law 'Atāullah Khān from the faujdāri of Rājmahal and give that post to Hasan Muhammad Khān, his own son-in-law. Hāji Āhmad, being grieved at these occurrences, and alarmed by the stratagems of his enemies, planned to overthrow the foundations of the Nawāb's State: having put on the robe of friendship to conceal his enmity, he counselled the Nawāb to discharge most of his troops, on the plea of effecting economy, so that not more than three or four thousand troopers were retained in service. At this time both the sons of the Hāji, namely Sa'id Āhmad Khan from Rangpur and Zain-ud-din Āhmad Khān from Patna, arrived to pay their respects to the Nawāb. Minuchihr Khān and other enemies of Hāji Āhmad, gave the Nawāb the advice to throw into prison the Hāji (6a) and his sons, so that if on the imprisonment of these, Mahābat Jang wished to rebel and go to war, he would be deprived of the power of the Hāji. Sarfarāz did not consent; nay, from his extreme purity of heart, he revealed to Hāji Āhmad this secret advice. But Hāji Āhmad, being in no way reassured in mind, wrote to 'Alivardī Khān about the above matter and also some slanders about the Nawāb which had no foundation at all. He thus turned 'Alivardī's heart away from Sarfarāz.

'Alivardī, as was only human and out of regard for his honour, fell into doubt and despair, and planning how to prevent injury to himself, wrote to Jugal Kishor, who held the post of Wakil on behalf of 'Alivardī and Sarfarāz at the imperial Court, a letter containing the above sayings (of Hāji Āhmad), and his own prayer that if the governorship of Patna substantively and in fulness of authority were conferred on him by the Emperor, he would gain relief from this alarm and cut off all connection with the governor of Bengal. As Jugal Kishor was not well disposed towards 'Alivardī, he sent this letter in the original to Sarfarāz Khān. After this, Sarfarāz gave full credence to the words of the enemies of Hāji Āhmad. Therefore the Nawāb in displeasure issued orders for the submission of accounts of the income and expenditure of subah Patna, and recalled the troops that had been

posted there since the days of Shujā'-ud-daulah. As (6b) for the people (army captains) who by delaying to carry out (these) orders, showed their concord with his enemy,—he sent a message of threat to them and ordered the taking back of certain gifts, which Shujā'-ud-daulah had given them when first posting them to Bihār.

In the midst of these things, in order to conciliate the alarmed mind of Hāji Āhmad, who was the cause of this disturbance and trouble, Sarfarāz sent a proposal to the Hāji to marry the daughter of 'Atāullah (his daughter's child) to one of the Nawāb's sons,—as a means of exalting the Hāji among his peers, and thus turning the displeasure and quarrel which had become public talk into friendship and relationship.

Hāji Āhmad, wrote in shameful language to 'Alivardi, "The Nawāb had disgraced and degraded me beyond limit, and now it has reached the point of destroying my family honour. He demands by force, the daughter of 'Atāullah, who has been betrothed to Mirzā Muhammad, the son Zain-ud-din Āhmad Khān, for his own son". Sa'id Āhmad Khān, too, wrote to his uncle ('Alivardi) in support of his father's words. (But) there his second son Zain-ud-din Āhmad Khān himself did not agree to commit the sin of deceiving his uncle. In fact, 'Alivardi did not entertain the least desire of opposing and fighting Sarfarāz Khān. The author has heard from this personage's own lips—without the mediation of a reporter, "I was living in Patna in perfect happiness and possessed of every (7a) material of prosperity and power. It was only through the instigation of Hāji Āhmad and Sa'id Āhmad Khān that I have thrown myself into this dangerous whirlpool, and thus become cursed by mankind and punished by God". The truth of this speech of 'Alivardi is proved by the fact that the calamities and loss that descended on the creatures of God during the 17 years of his rule, from the sons of Zain-ud-din Āhmad Khān, clearly indicated their wickedness of intention and villainy.

When these deceptive letters reached the limit of excess, 'Alivardi felt himself compelled to undertake this fully dangerous expedition, because to men of honour the guarding of (family) honour is the highest of all duties. He was then encamped on the bank of Wāris Khān in the city of Patna, engaged in administering the subah of Bihār. He marched from that *mauz'a* with seven or eight thousand horse to the east side of the city, in the mahal of Ja'far Khān's Garden, and set up his banners for the journey to Bengal. In the course of his march, at the pass of Sikrigali, which was then in the charge of 'Atāullah Khān, the son-in-law of Hāji Āhmad, on behalf of 'Alivardi,—'Atāullah joined him out of regard for their relationship. After crossing the pass (unopposed) he reached Rājmahal and wrote a letter to Sarfarāz Khān, to this purport: "As the humiliation and troubling of Hāji Āhmad

Khān has reached an extreme, and taken the form of destroying our family honour, this slave, considering it obligatory on himself to guard his family (7b) honour, has arrived at this place. I have no other intention than loyalty and service to you. I pray that out of your grace as my master you would allow Hāji Āhmad to come away with his family".

Sarfārāz, who up to this time had no intelligence of this march at all, was surprised at this occurrence, and hesitated whether to give *conge* to Hāji Āhmad or not. At last he was counselled to allow him to go away with his family and property. At this time Hāji Āmad, told the Nawāb through mediators, "Muhammad 'Alivardī Khān is at heart loyal and obedient to you. Don't set out to fight a servant whom there is no reason to suspect of hostility to you. After coming to your presence, he will state his prayers and act according to your orders. If, in opposition to my prayer, and at the suggestion of the enemies of your State, you issue to encounter 'Alivardī, there is the danger that for the sake of saving his own life and family honour, he would do something which would be the cause of his bad name in this world and the next." Sarfārāz was not perfectly composed in mind as to ending the hostility of 'Alivardī by merely sending away Hāji Āhmad Khān, (and yet) on the contrary delay took place in the Nawāb's issuing from his palace for repelling his enemy. At last at the urging of Mardān 'Alī Khān, (8a) who bore the greatest enmity to Hāji Āhmad and his followers, on Wednesday, 22 Muharram year 1152 (should be 1153, = Tuesday 8th April 1740). Sarfārāz issued from his palace with four thousand cavalry in order to fight the enemy; and after three or four marches halted on the bank of the *nālā* of Khumrā. At this place Basant the eunuch and Shujā 'Qulī Khān the faujdār of Hughli who had been sent by Sarfārāz to 'Alivardī to ascertain the real state of things, returned with Hakim Muhammad 'Alī, the envoy of 'Alivardī, interviewed and reported, "Mahābat Jang is obedient and ready to carry out your orders. He says to you,—'When a master cherishes a servant and raises him from lowliness to the stage of exaltation among his peers, he considers it proper to preserve the dignity of his act of cherishing and the rank of his *protege*. This humblest of men has been cherished and raised to honour by your royal house. I consider the rights of your Government as in my trust. In rendering service to you I have not displayed the least failing, internally or outwardly, at any time. In this respect I can claim superiority to all (8b) other servants of your Majesty. I now hope for your granting my two prayers: *first*: By order of the late Nawāb Shujā-'ud-daulah, I have enlisted a force for the administration of the subah of Bīhar. The income of this subah,

owing to increase of expenditure, cannot meet the pay of these men. They have forcibly brought me to this place in order to realise their dues. I pray that you grant seven lakhs of rupees so that I can pacify them. *Secondly*, expel from your Court the party that has set your Majesty's mind against me, and whose chiefs are Mardān 'Alī Khān, Mir Murtaza, Hāji Lutf 'Alī Khān and Muhammad Ghaus Khān, so that this humble servant, being honoured with the acceptance of his prayer, may arrive at your audience with true devotion and peace of mind. If you do not agree to it, I request that you should separate yourself from these men and send them to attack me. If they triumph, (my) wish will be fulfilled. If they are defeated, I shall present myself before you in the attitude of obedience and service, which are the aim of this slave." Having confirmed this statement with oaths, he sent the *Qurān* (on which the oath had been taken) by the hand of the Hakim named above.

As Mardān 'Alī Khān and others (of his faction) enjoyed (9a) the fullest trust of Sarfarāz and had an old feud with Hāji Āhmad and 'Alivardi, they did not in any way agree to avert a battle and make a peaceful settlement. They with evil intentions fed the suspicion of their master with false words; and for instigating a fight Muhammad Ghaus Khān and others sent letters of temptation and conciliation and bankers' drafts (*hundis*) to the chiefs of the army of 'Alivardi. When this matter became public knowledge, Ghulām Mustafa Khan, the commander of the army, went to 'Alivardi and said, "Very soon all the troops will desert to the enemy, and then we shall be shamefully put to the sword or made prisoners. We ought to remedy the evil before it occurs". Then 'Alivardi saw the gates of remedy closed on all sides and became utterly hopeless of the acceptance of his request by Sarfarāz; and because no human contrivance can prevent the will of God, a thing came out of the hidden place of secrets that had never passed through the mind of anybody.

IV

The long and short of it is that in the morning of Wednesday (9th April 1740) at the halting place on the bank of the river of Suti, 'Alivardi mounted a *mast* elephant for repelling the enemy and turned his face to the *lashkar* (Sarfarāz's camp). Sarfarāz after ascertaining this fact, ordered his mount to be brought, though he had intended to fast (9b) that day. He had not gone out of the circuit of his camp, when a musket ball removed him to the mercy of God. After his death many of his followers fought bravely out of fidelity to their salt. Among them the foremost of heroes, Mir Dilir 'Alī Khān,

very boldly made his way up to the enemy and fought so well that two arrows were shot from his bow, one of which hit the chest of 'Alivardi, but as his aim was not seconded by the will of God it had no effect, and the second arrow struck the grasping place of 'Alivardi's bow so hard that it penetrated to the back of the bow. At last this heroic Sayyid with four or five other persons was slain with the sword. Muhammad Ghaus Khān with two of his sons and some servants advanced up to 'Alivardi's elephant, but they were all killed. Mir Sirājuddīn, Hājī Lutf 'Alī Khān, Mir Gadāi, Mir Kābuli, Qurbān 'Alī Khān and many other sardārs, after their master had been slain, threw away their lives solely to do their duty and avoid the shame of flight. (10a) Muhammad Irāj Khan received a severe wound (*kul zahame*) on his head, and another blow which rendered his arm powerless, and then fell down; his son too was slain. After a time he was cured of his wounds and set free. Sayyid Hasan 'Alī Khān, Shahāmat 'Alī Khān, Nasrullah Khān, Rāi-i-Rāyān (the head of the Khālsa) and many others were wounded. The corpse of Sarfarāz was removed to Murshidabad and buried in one of the buildings of his Audience Chamber. God's pardon be on him! His reign extended over one year and two months and a little more; his life to 36 years. Nothing is eternal except the Lord of Slaves, the True.

The happening of this occurrence from a man like Mahābat Jang was very far (from what was expected). But because his noble character was adorned with many praiseworthy traits, such as bravery, sagacity, mercifulness, and amiable manners to an extreme degree, and every excellence has its necessary end, his doing of this deed—which was truly the effect of God's will and outwardly due to the instigation of his nephews and brother—(10b) became the cause of his utter loss. I shall, God willing, narrate the many kinds of favour and kind treatment that 'Alivardi bestowed on the surviving relatives of Sarfarāz, after this occurrence.

As God had destined the lordship of the realm of Bengal in the name of this Sun of the Sky of Dignity and Exaltation, it happened in the manner already described by my pen. 'Alivardi, taking in his own hand the charge of the government of this country, in the middle of the month of Safar (*c.* 30th April 1740) victoriously entered the city of Murshidabad. Before seating himself on the cushion of kingship, he paid a visit to Nafisa Begam the daughter of Shujā-'ud-daulah and most humbly begged pardon for his offences, saying, "What had been written on the tablet of Destiny had come to pass, and this eternal disgrace had been recorded against the name of this 'black-face' in the pages of night and day. But from this time to the end of my life, I shall not behave to the humblest of your servants except as

your slave. I cherish the hope that you will honour this slave's submission by quickly accepting it." Then he came to the palace, and sat on the throne of Bengal at the age of sixty years. In accordance with his promise, he left to Nafisa Begam her personal estate yielding one lakh of rupees and (111a) a little more per annum, with all her property. He granted a separate allowance to every son and daughter of the late Nawāb, for their sustenance. He showed such regard for the outward dignity of Sarfarāz's offspring, that he paid the greatest attention and kind consideration to the infant son of the deceased. The property of Sarfarāz that came into his possession amounted to 38 lakhs of rupees, and according to the popular saying, to seventy lakhs, besides jewels, gold and silver vessels, precious and fine articles totalling five krores of rupees. He issued orders for escheating the property of Hāji Lutf 'Alī Khān, Minuchihr Khān, and Mir Murtaza. But the greatest rigour and oppression was practised by his daughters on the wife and daughters of Sarfarāz in seizing the property inside the harem of the late Nawāb. Hāji Āhmad, violating the duty of a faithful servant and man of honour, took to himself some of the kept mistresses of Sarfarāz, though 'Alivardi was against such acts. Whereas the punishment for wicked acts is always executed by God, though Hāji Āhmad enjoyed pleasure with them for some years, yet in the end, according to the verse:

He who digs a pit in his brother's ground verily falls into it,
(111b) he tasted the bitterness of it with the palate of disappointment, as will be narrated shortly after in this book; when bearing on his shoulders the load of many kinds of misdeed and oppression, he set his face to the other world.

V.

'Alivardi after seating himself firmly on the throne made an assignment of four lakhs of rupees in cash to his troops as reward (*in'ām*), and cherished them by increasing their pay by one-half. He gave the diwāni of Khālśa of Bengal with the governorship of Dacca to his own son-in-law Nawāzish Muhammad Khān. 'Alamchand the Rāi-i-rāiān having died in a few days from the bullet wound he had received (at Gheria), the diwāni of Khālśa with the title of Rāi-i-rāiān was given *vice* him, to Chin Rāi. Mir Muhammad J'afar Khān, *vice* Qāsim 'Alī Khān the son of his wife's brother, was appointed Bakhshi of the old troops; Nasrullah Beg Khān, one of the chief confidants of his house, was appointed Bakhshi of the new troops. The charge of the imperial flotilla and imperial artillery which was among the chief duties at Dacca—was given to his daughters' sons, Mirzā

Muhammad and Mirzā Kāzim. The dārōghaship of his own artillery was conferred on Mirzā Nazar 'Alī entitled Haidar 'Alī Khān, the son of the uncle ('am) of Hasan Qulī Khān. The aforesaid Khān was exalted among his peers as the manager of all affairs, great (12a) and small, of Nawāzish Muhammad Khān and the deputy (governor) of Dacca. The post of Hājib (Chamberlain) was taken away from Mir Murtaza and given to his old Hājib Ghulām Husain Khān.

At this time news arrived of the death of Ishaq Khān Mutaman-ud-daulah, who had acted at the Court of the Emperor as the supporter of 'Alivardi, and the mediator in charge of all his business, and had urged him to undertake this invasion of Bengal: 'Alivardi was alarmed at this occurrence; but at last through the mediation of Sa'd-ud-din Khān, the Emperor's Chief of Artillery, he petitioned the Emperor, promising to send to him the property left behind by Sarfarāz, on condition of his being given the governorship of Bengal. Muhammad Shāh, considering it expedient to grant this request, sent Murid Khān to escheat the property of the late Nawāb. After Murid Khān had reached patna, 'Alivardi not considering his coming to Murshidabad advisable, wrote to him to stay at Sikrigali for some time, promising to go there himself with the property and meet Murid Khān.

So, 'Alivardi in the month of Rajab (September 1740) marched towards Rājmahal; after halting there for sometime and meeting Murid Khān, he gave him seven lakhs of rupees in cash and nearly (12b) seventy lakhs of rupees in kind,—jewels, robes, gold and silver vessels, elephants and horses—and sent him back to Delhi. At the end of the month of Sh'abān (the beginning of November 1740) he returned to Murshidabad. In the course of these events, he received from the Emperor a *sanad* conferring on him the governorship of Bengal with the title of Husāmuddaulah, a *sanad* of the (diwāni of that) kingdom with the title of Shahāmat Jang for Nawāzish Muhammad Khān, and the titles of Saulat Jang for Sa'id Ahmad Khān and Haibat Jang for Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khān, and a *sanad* for the deputy governorship of Patna and the title of Sābit Jang for 'Ātullah Khān.

VI

Murshid Qulī Khān Rustam Jang, the son-in-law of Shujā'-ud-daulah, who was subahdār of Orissā, after the death of Sarfarāz Khān, trying to serve his own interests sent Āqā Muhammad Taqī Surati to make a peaceful settlement with 'Alivardi. As 'Alivardi had taken on himself to respect the former rights of this family, he agreed with all courtesy and willingness, and sent him back with his desire satisfied. But (13a) Mirzā Bāqar Khān Isfahāni, the son-in-law of

Murshid Quli Khān, did not consent to the compromise. Desire for the governorship of Bengal always pricked his mind, in spite of the fact that he was in no way capable of opposing 'Alivardi,—and he now, under the pretence of avenging (the death of Sarfarāz), began to rebel and go against the advice (of 'Alivardi). 'Alivardi, on hearing of it, wrote to Murshid Quli Khān a letter to this effect:—"I do not in any way wish to do you harm; I have no ill feeling towards you. But your residence near me is not a cause of peace of mind to both sides. I hope that you will go away with your family dependants and property by way of Murshidabad to Hindustan, or by that route to the Deccan." Murshid Quli Khān who knew that he had not the strength to fight 'Alivardi, wished to prefer peace to hostility and give up his opposition and disturbance. But his son-in-law Mirzā Bāqar Isfahāni, whose head had not yet cast off the ambition of ruling Bengal, so strongly urged and instigated Murshid Quli Khān not to make peace, that the latter sent a reply (136) closing the paths of peace. 'Alivardi, on learning of it, left Hāji Āhmad and Shahāmat Jang as his deputies in Murshidabad, started from the city with ten or twelve thousand cavalry at the beginning of the month of Shawwāl (December 1740) towards Katak for fighting Murshid Quli Khān.

Murshid Quli, also, making war preparations with a view to repelling his enemy, issued from Katak, passed through Bālesar, and reached the village of Phulwāri on the bank of the river of Bālesar. Here, at a knotty (*mahal-i-qalb*) place on all sides of which there were jungles and *wālās* and where it was difficult for an enemy to deliver an assault, he planted nearly three hundred pieces of artillery, large and small, round his encampment, and gained stability and composure of mind. 'Alivardi marching by way of Medinipur and Jālesar, encamped on the opposite side of that river at a distance of a few *kos* from the enemy's camp. His stay was in the enemy's territory, and the zamindārs of that country failed to supply him with grain and other provisions,—nay, even the grain sent from Nārāyan-garh and other places by the collectors of the Nawāb were robbed on the way by the zamindārs. For this reason the price of things rose very high and the men of the camp were put to distress. Mirzā Bāqar Khān, on hearing of it, in spite of Murshid Quli Khān (14a) having forbidden him to attempt to give battle and leave that well-protected place, did not listen to the counsel, but at the end of Ziq'ada (early in February 1741) issued from his camp for fighting. 'Alivardi, on getting news of the advance of the enemy, rode out to oppose them. When the two forces came closer together, his troops by their first charge captured the artillery of the enemy, because they had neglected that wing and leaving their guns in position had hastened

to give fight. Then a battle of muskets and rockets between the two sides began, many were slain or wounded in both the armies. Murshid Quli Khān, in spite of most of his soldiers having dispersed, made a very firm stand and fought so well that some of 'Alivardi's troops fled away, so that his elephant's *hauda* became visible. At that time Mirzā Bāqar Khān, wishing that the credit of the victory should be his, left his position in the right wing of his army, advanced against the left wing of his opponents, where Mir Muhammad J'afar Khān, Qāsim 'Ali Khān and others were standing, and began a (hand-to-hand) fight. Some experienced troops of 'Alivardi were shaken and took to flight, so that it seemed likely that a disaster would befall his army,—when Mir Muhammad J'afar Khān and others, being strengthened by the arrival of reinforcements, (14b) made repeated charges and broke the line of the enemy's formation. By order of the Nawāb, who at this time deemed it expedient, his drummers beat the music of victory. His troops, on hearing the victorious peal, again set their faces to repelling the enemy.

Mirzā Bāqar Khān, seeing that he had no power left for fighting, retreated towards Murshid Quli Khān. As he saw no troops there, he realized that victory was not to be his, and turned his face to flight, along with (Murshid Quli). 'Alivardi on seeing the victory of his army, prostrated himself to thank God, and advancing from that place, encamped at the place of the enemy's camp. Murshid Quli and Mirzā Bāqar, arriving at the port of Bālesar, embarked on a ship which they had kept ready there for such a day, took with themselves such of their women and property as they could lay hands on, and set their faces to the ports of the Deccan.

'Alivardi, passing through Bālesar, by successive marches reached Katak. His officers seized a little of the property left behind by Murshid Quli Khān amounting to nearly two lakhs of rupees in cash and about the same amount of goods. (15a) He appointed S'aid Āhmad Khān Saulat Jang governor of Katak and set out on return to Murshidabad; which he reached at the end of the month of Safar (end of April 1741). Qāsim 'Ali Khan was appointed faujdār of Rangpur, *vice* Saulat Jang, now created governor of Katak subah.

VII

Saulat Jang is made prisoner by Mirzā Bāqar Khān, solely through his negligence and faulty arrangements; he is released from this distress by Providence.—

Saulat Jang, after becoming governor of Katak, by reason of his

having only a small contingent of his own, and none among the troops of 'Alivardi except Gujar Khān jam'adār remaining with him, took into his service the soldiers of Murshid Quli Khān who had not accompanied him (in his flight) but remained in Katak. Through evil counsel,—although he had not so large a force of his own that he could have overcome the hostility of these men, he displeased them by unreasonable demands for the refunding of the advances they had received; he asked them to return the pay, allowances and advances that Murshid Quli Khān had given them at the time of the battle. Besides this, in his haughtiness and conceit, he behaved very badly to high and low alike. Therefore, the troops, becoming estranged and disgusted with his manners and action, turned to plans for (15*b*) getting rid of him. They wrote and sent to Mirzā Bāqar Khān—who was stationed in the Deccan country at the distance of nine or ten days' march (from Katak)—letters professing obedience to him and inviting him to come and capture Saulat Jang.

Mirzā Bāqar, seizing this heaven-sent opportunity started for Katak. The hostile soldiers in Katak, on hearing of the march of Mirzā Bāqar, raised disturbances and mutiny on the plea of demanding their pay etc., from Saulat Jang, who sent Gujar Khān jama'dar, his confidant, to them to quench this fire of revolt. The mutineers, emboldened by the near approach of Mirzā Bāqar, carried away Gujar Khān (as prisoner); and as Saulat Jang had no troops with him for his protection, the rebels suddenly entered the fort (of Bārābāti), captured Saulat Jang with his women and children, and wrote to Mirzā Bāqar about their success. Mirzā Bāqar speedily reached Katak, entered the palace, confined Saulat Jang with his family in a place close to his own residence, and tried to win the hearts of the public by gifts of money (16*a*).

'Alivardi on hearing of it, set out with 20,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry for restoring the broken government of the province of Katak and releasing Saulat Jang, in such-and-such (*julān*) month and year. Though the suppression of Bāqar was not so difficult a task that the Nawāb should undertake it in person, yet 'Alivardi feared that Mirzā Bāqar had been emboldened to take this step by the support of Nizām-ul-mulk Āsaf Jāh. His army crossed Medinipur; the deputy of Mirzā Bāqar in Bālesar fled away to Katak at the news of the approach of 'Alivardi, who advanced through Bāleswar towards Katak.

Mirzā Bāqar Khān had given many kinds of favours, in words and things, to the troops, hoping to make them support him; he wished to set out for opposing 'Alivardi; but the troops declared that they were not strong enough to fight 'Alivardi's vast army. Mirzā

Bāqar despairing of the support of his troops, (16b) had no help but to leave his usurped kingdom ; he sent away as much property as he could beforehand ; and then on hearing of the near arrival of 'Alivardi's army, set out on his return to the Deccan. Placing Saulat Jang in a cart (*rath*), he posted a party of Telingas and a few Mughals around him with orders to slay him if the troops of 'Alivardi arrived near them to rescue him.

When 'Alivardi received news of the flight of Mirzā Bāqar and the evacuation of the city of Katak, he from two or three stages before that city sent Mir Muhammad J'afar Khān the Bakhshi and Ghulām Mustafa Khān, two chiefs of his army, with other men, to pursue the enemy, with orders to get possession of Saulat Jang's person in any way they could. The two Khāns, with the speed of the wind and thunder, reached Katak, crossed the river Katjhuri which lies on the further side of the city, and went on the traces of the enemy. After traversing one *kos*, while Mirzā Bāqar Khān was a short distance in advance and the cart of Saulat Jang was lagging behind him, the two generals reached the cart first. The soldiers of Mirzā Bāqar Khān who (17a) had been ordered to slay him, made some thrusts with their spears into the covered cart from the outside. But providentially no harm reached the person of Saulat Jang ; rather the two Mughals who had been placed inside the cart by Mirzā Bāqar Khān to kill him, and who having been won over by Saulat Jang had done him no hurt, were wounded by these spears. Just then Ghulām Mustafa Khān and Mir Muhammad J'afar Khān arrived near the cart, drove away the few soldiers remaining around it, and brought Saulat Jang out of the vehicle. As it was useless to go in pursuit of Mirzā Bāqar Khān on account of the long distance, the two generals brought Saulat Jang with themselves to 'Alivardi, who prostrated himself in thanking God for this act of grace.

After regulating the affairs of that disturbed country, he deemed it inexpedient to leave Saulat Jang there, placed Mukhlis 'Alī Khān, a son-in-law (*kheshe*) of Hāji Āhmad as deputy governor of that subah, and set out on return to his capital. (17b) After two or three marches he reached Bhadrak ; 'Alivardi by advice of Ghulām Mustafa Khān, —who was exalted above all the other captains by reason of his firm loyalty and devotion,—removed Mukhlis 'Alī and sent Shaikh Muhammad M'asum to govern Katak. When his army reached Bālesar, he detached a part of his troops to plunder and ravage the territory of Mayurbhanj, whose zamindār had allied himself to the enemy. Immediately on receiving this order, his army, like the waves of the ocean, set out for the Rājā's capital, spared nothing in plundering and enslaving, in a few days threw the earth of that city

(*gasba*) up into the wind, and brought away thousands of children, male and female, as captives.

After this raid, his army passing by Bālesar reached Medinipur in a few days. Leaving that place, he encamped at Jhinkara, two stages beyond Medinipur. Here a strange insident occurred which no man had ever imagined in his mind. (18a)

VIII

Raghuji Bhonslé, one of the leading Maratha sardars, and the possessor of the subah of Berār, outwardly on seeing the weakness of the sultāni government, but inwardly at the instigation of Nizām ul-mulk Āsaf Jāh, with the object of conquering the kingdom of Bengal if possible, or else for exacting *chauth* which was customary in all the (other) provinces of Hind, but from which Bengal had been free, —sent Bhāskar Pandit, one of his noted chiefs, with nearly 20,000 horse to Bengal. Bhāskar after passing through the wilderness (jungles) by way of the hills of Orissā, wished to enter Bengal, but finding no way on that side, turned to the pass of Pachet, which is eight marches west of Murshidabad. 'Alivardi, learning this news at Jhinkara, at first did not give credit to the report, because never since the birth of Bengal, had the name of Maratha reached the ears of the people of that country, and the path for entering that kingdom had apparently been confined to the well-known route by the pass of Sikrighali.

When 'Alivardi reached Mubārak Manzil, the news was verified that the Marathas had crossed the pass of Pachet and arrived near the *chakla* on the frontier of Burdwan. 'Alivardi, after his return from Katak, as he had no anticipation of trouble in any direction and saw no man as his probable enemy, had dismissed many troops, and now had not more than five or six thousand cavalry with him, and many of these too had taken (18b) the road to Murshidabad, thinking that there was no danger on the way and the army was coming (soon) to Murshidabad ; so that 'Alivardi was accompanied by not more than 3 or 4 thousand cavalry and 4 or 5 thousand infantry of the *topkhānah*. After reflection, by the advice of Ghulām Mustafa Khan, he decided to leave the city of Bardwan,—which was pre-eminent among the parganahs of Bengal by reason of its abundance of grain and plenty of houses (*m'amuri*), close in the rear of his army, and engage in repelling the enemy. So determined, he marched from Mubārak Manzil and on the second day alighted in Bardwan. After one or two days, the enemy's troops came in sight. The Bengal army advanced to fight, and both sides made frantic exertions (*lit.*, like animals when

being slaughtered). Some soldiers were wounded, and our men returned to their halting place.

At that time envoys from the two sides opened negotiations ; and Bhāskar, seeing that without hard fighting it was difficult for him to gain his object, sent a message that he would return to his own country if 'Alivardi paid him ten lakhs of rupees. The Nawāb, in his own view and by (19a) the advice of Ghulām Mustafa Khan, deemed acceptance inadvisable, and replied that he would fight. After some days had passed in this way, although the Nawāb wished to engage in an open field-battle, yet as the Maratha war-tactics are flight and attack only when their enemy is off his guard, it could not come to pass. So he planned to leave his heavy things like waggons and carts in his camping place, and attack the Marathas with a select (light) force.

According to this design he rode out in the morning, issuing strict orders to his troops to leave their baggage (*bahir*) on the camping ground and not to allow the [camp-followers] to join the fighting column. But the camp people, in fear of the Marathas did not listen to him and forced their way into the column of soldiers. When they had traversed only a part of the way, the enemy horse attacked from four sides and began to fight. That day there was severe fighting on both sides ; in our army one chief Musāhib Khān, the eldest son of 'Umar Khān, was slain. Fighting in this way, 'Alivardi made his way towards the camp of the enemy, till the evening (*'asar*). At that time, finding that it was impossible to return to his own camp or to reach the halting place of the enemy, he was forced to encamp at the place at which he had arrived. It so happened that this (19b) place was covered with dirty mud owing to rain. That day all the property of the entire army was captured by the enemy, with the exception of four or five *pālhis* and a small red (*saqarlāt*) tent which had been pitched on a mound for the Nawāb.

After passing that night in the midst of every kind of discomfort and difficulty, next morning the Nawāb sent a proposal of peace to Bhāskar. That general, proud of having captured all the property of the Nawāb's camp, replied, "You have now no power to fight and I have encircled all your troops, whom I shall soon make prisoners. But as you are reckoned one of the high nobles of Hindustan, if you wish to escape from this destruction, send me one krór of rupees in cash and all the elephants of your camp, and I shall withdraw my hand from doing you any harm or obstructing your return to Murshidabad." That day great discord and weakness fell on our army, and out of the nearly three thousand cavalry that were collected in a

body round the Nawāb, (many) on learning of the distraction and anxiety, wished to go over to the enemy.

Rājā Jānki Rām, the diwān of the household of the Nawāb and the army, reported to 'Alivardi, "The predominance of the enemy has reached excess and the small force now with you, on (20a) hearing of this state of things are thinking of going over to the enemy ; therefore, in these circumstances it is proper for you to consent to peace and to give up the elephants—which are not of importance in Bengal ; and as for the money demanded, I shall provide it thus, forty lakhs cash now in the treasury of the imperial revenue and the balance by means of loans etc." The other counsellors supported the advice of Jānki Rām. But 'Alivardi, out of his bravery and sense of honour, did not agree, and replied, " I shall never agree to such a degradation, but by fighting the *kāfirs* I shall defeat them. Instead of giving this money to the enemy under such humiliation, it is better that, God willing, after fighting the battle I shall pay ten lakhs of rupees as reward to the faithful soldiers who will loyally and bravely sacrifice their lives in this war." Ghulām Mustafa Khān and all the jama'dārs whose firmness had not been shaken, reproaching (this cowardly advice) said, " With the backing of forty swords a kingdom can be conquered. We are more than one thousand men, we consider it an act of extreme cowardice (20b) to yield to such meanness and despair. By the help of God, we shall give battle to the enemy and gain the victory. So long as Ghulām Mustafa Khān is alive, he considers his head as attached to the shoe of the horse of the meanest of the slaves of Mahābat Jang."

On hearing these words, all the soldiers gained mastery (over their despair) and somehow or other safely passed the day till night at that place full of mud, surrounded on all four sides by the enemy. When the darkness of night descended, many of the low people of the camp and a party of the Nawāb's soldiers went away to the enemy's camp, so that none remained with him except the followers of (those) jama'dārs and the personal comrades (*ru-shinās*) of the Nawāb. The enemy who had carried off our artillery on the day of the plundering, planted a gun under (*bar sar*) a tree and began to fire it and rockets towards the Nawāb's army. Near the morning, Mānik Chand, the diwān of Bardwān, in the manner of a zamindār (farmer) fled away in the direction of Bardwān.

In the meantime, the Maratha cavalry made repeated attacks from four sides. 'Alivardi, mounted on his elephant, turned to repelling the enemy. But because it was the first time that our soldiers were seeing the manner of Maratha fighting and had not fully grasped (its tactics), the combination of our troops was broken and the Maratha soldiers

entered into our ranks. During (21a) this fighting, Mir Habibullah Khān Shirāzi, who had remained in Bengal, since the days of Shujā-'ud-daulah, as a jama'dār and a trader, and was also employed as a jama'dār in the service of 'Alivardi,—delayed in taking horse for the battle, so that the Maratha troopers came upon him; he fell down after receiving two or three cuts, and was carried away as a prisoner.

IX

A short account of the antecedents of Mir Habibullah Khān.—After the death of Sarfarāz Khān, Mir Habibullah Khān in fear lay in his house for some time expecting to be put to death, but after a time he received an assurance of safety through Nawāzish Muhammad Khān, and interviewed 'Alivardi, but he always remained in fear of injury from Hāji Āhmad. After two years had passed, at the time of the Nawāb's return from the campaign against Mirzā Bāqar Khān, Hāji Āhmad wrote to 'Alivardi, "So long as the thread (of the life) of Mir Habibullah was not cut with the sword, the affairs of the kingdom will not be properly regulated." By chance this letter fell into the hands of Mir Habibullah, who showed it to Ghulām Mustafa Khān, who was at this time displeased, on account of Zain-ud-dīn Āhmad (21b) Khān at Patna having put to death Raushan Khān jama'dār on mere suspicion. Ghulām Mustafa considering it necessary for himself to assist Mir Habibullah, fell into plans for a rupture with 'Alivardi, when the Maratha invasion took place. Ghulām Mustafa Khān told Mir Habib, "It is against manliness to leave the Nawāb's service and take to subterfuges at such a time. After we have defeated the Marāthas whatever opportunity occurs, we shall act according to it."

From every side the Marathas came on to attack, and the chiefs of our army, such as Mir Muhammad J'afar Khān, Ghulām Mustafa khān, Shamshir Khān, Sardār Khān, Rahim Khān, 'Umar Khān, and others—came bravely forward to fight them and dispersed them. Haidar 'Ali Khān, the dārogha of the *dastī* topkhānah, showed the greatest bravery that day, and slew many of the enemy, till the Maratha leaders, on seeing the hard blows given by our ghāzis and the slaughter and wounding of many of their own men [*text corrupt*] and that on every side that they charged they were scattered,—at last collected their forces and turned to the rear of the Nawab's army. The broken ranks of the Nawāb's army were (22a) dressed again, and fighting in a compact formation, they set out for Katwa. On this day all the remaining baggage and belongings of our army were plundered by the enemy, and nothing remained of our surplus baggage, nay of the necessary articles of food clothing and conveyance. (We had only) two or three

thousand men on horses,¹ and some on elephants and five or six thousand men on foot. Fighting in this manner, and marching from dawn to the evening prayer, we halted at sunset on the bank of a water (? tank or river), where for high and low alike nothing was available as cover except the shadow of the heavens, and as bed except the bare ground. As for food, for the men accustomed to comfort, not once in the day or night was anything found to allay their hunger; as for the common people they filled their stomachs by eating the stalk of the banana plant² and similar things.

This author, had gone to meet his father on the way in the company of the Nawāb during this journey. I remember that on the third day I obtained one quarter seer of *khichri* which was shared by seven persons, while three other men lived on seven pieces of *Shakar-parah*, which is a kind of sweetmeat.(22b) On the third day nearly half a seer of roast beef fed some men. On the day of reaching Katwa, the hungry men, under the belief that abundance of grain of all kinds would be found there, arrived there with the utmost possible speed. But the fact was that the Marathas had entered it before our arrival, plundered the village, and set fire to the granaries of rice which they could not carry away. In this way men and beasts fasted for three days. On the fourth day on reaching Katwa, they fed upon the burnt grain, as if it were honey!

'Alivardī, after reaching Katwa halted and wrote to Hāji Āhmad and Nawāzish Muhammad Khān Shahāmat Jang to guard (Murshidabad) and called to himself Saulat Jang—whom he had sent ahead to Murshidabad at the time of passing through Medinipur,—with orders to bring with himself grain &c. Saulat Jang in a few days reached our camp, and grain having come from all sides, the famine in our army was turned into plenty.

X

Bhāskar, owing to the approach of the rainy season, besides the blows which he had received from our ghāzzis, deemed it difficult for him to stay in Bengal; so he set out for his own (23a) country by way of Bīrbhum. Mir Habib, by reason of the old enmity described before, dissuaded him from going away, and undertook to plunder the *kothis* of Jagat Seth and others and bring for him plenty of wealth from Murshidabad, which was without a wall or ditch, and from which 'Alivardi was absent (at Katwa), if Bhāskar desired to collect money

¹ Text reads *bāsp-i-qamchi*, on whip horses (?).

² The text reads *sāq-i-shajar-i-mauz* (spelt as *mawez*, with y before z) which means the stalk of the banana tree,—wrongly translated by Gladwin as "roots of plantain trees."

and gave a few thousand horsemen to follow him. Bhāskar agreed and gave him some thousands of well-mounted cavalry.

'Alivardi, on hearing of it, thought it necessary for him to go from that place to the defenceless city of Murshidabad and made a forced march to Murshidabad. The Maratha cavalry, who had reached Murshidabad one day before the arrival of the Nawāb, devoted themselves to plundering the *Kothi* of Jagat Seth and carried away nearly three lakhs of rupees in cash and some property, and also laid hands on some of the wards of the city. Mir Habib, took his brother Mir Sharif away out of his house. As in the palace, Haji Ahmad, Shahamat Jang and 'Ataullah Khān made a firm stand with a small force, the enemy could not reach (23*b*) them. Immediately on hearing of the approach of 'Alivardi, they took to flight, and the Nawāb entered Murshidabad at the end of the night, in the day before which the Marathas after plundering had taken to flight.

Mir Habib came back to Bhāskar in safety with his spoils after the plundering of Murshidabad, rebuked him severely for wishing to go to the Deccan, and taking upon his own self the charge of the conquest of Bengal, by strong urging brought him back from the place he had reached, to Katwa. 'Alivardi, on hearing of it, deemed it impossible to expel the enemy from Bengal that year, on account of his having only a small army with him and his soldiers being worn out by one year's campaigning, besides the arrival of the rainy season. Deciding to guard the city, he made his camp in Āmaniganj and Tārakpur, outside the city. The Marathas once or twice reached as far Palāsi and Dāudpur, burnt the villages on that side and went back to Katwa. After one month when the water of the Bhāgirathi rose so high that it could no longer be forded, as Katwa was on the further side (24*a*) of the river, the Marathas ceased to try to come to this side by fording the river, and engaged in plundering the parganas and villages on the further side.

One party of them went to Hugli and captured Muhammad Yār Beg Khān, surnamed Mirzā Piāran, who was posted there as the deputy of the Nawāb, and they placed their own collectors in Hugli and Hijli. The entire chakla of Bardwān was taken possession of by the Marathas, and they occupied Medinipur up to Bālesar. Mir Qalandar, the faujdār of Medinipur, saved himself from this destruction somehow or other, and fled into a corner. Shaikh M'asum, the deputy governor of the Katak province, on the arrival of the Marathas—his strength being only one-fourth of theirs, vacated Katak and went away to some place of safety on the other side of the river. The zila of Birbhum, many of the parganas of Rājshāhi, the city of Rājmahal, also fell into the Maratha hands. Nothing remained in the Nawāb's hands except (the

city of) Murshidabad and the country on this side of the Ganges, namely Dacca, Rangpur &c. The people of Murshidabad had never seen such a thing for many years and never heard of it; knowing that the city was without a wall or ditch, during these months of the rainy season they in great alarm went by boat to the villages on the further side of the (24*b*) Ganges such as Dacca, Mālda, Rāmpur &c. with their families and children, for shelter. Even Shahāmat Jang took up his abode at Godāgāri, on the further side of the Ganges, one day's journey from Murshidabad and gave the place the name of Bhāgnagar, and lived there with all his property and family; but after a time, becoming aware of the shamefulness of this act, himself returned to Murshidabad with some of his women. The Nawāb's property and furniture also were sent to that place. In the course of these few rainy months, 'Alivardi distributed ten lakhs of rupees among his troops as *in'ām* according to his promise, and won their hearts by many kinds of favours.

XI

'Alivardi's expedition for expelling Bhāskar—the coming of Safdar Jang to Patna for aiding him and his return by order of the Emperor.—

'Alivardi did not wait for the end of the rainy season, but before the Dasahara (27 Oct. 1742) started with his army for expelling the enemy. As Bhāskar was in residence at Katwa, the Nawāb did not consider it expedient to cross the river opposite Katwa, but after passing through Palāsi, from which place Katwa is five *kos* distant, he halted on the bank of the river (25*a*) Bhāgirathi, and after making a bridge of boats he crossed that river, with his troops, and passing some distance alighted on the bank of the Ajay river from which Katwa is one *kos* off. At that river was in flood, his workmen built another bridge of boats over it. After it had been constructed the Nawāb ordered his sardārs, —Mir Muhammad J'afar Khān, Haidar 'Alī Khān, Ghulām Mustafa Khān, Shamshir Khān, Sardār Khān, Rahīm Khān and others—to cross the bridge in the darkness of the night when the enemy would not be on the alert, and fall upon the Marathas. Accordingly they began to cross; when most of the chiefs had reached the other bank and a party of soldiers were still on the bridge, owing to the great weight of the men and the arrival of transport beasts, the ropes tying the boats were torn, some boats were separated from each other and the bridge was breached. As owing to the darkness of the night nothing could be seen and the troops were marching very fast without any fear, whoever reached the gap fell into the river and was drowned. When six hundred men—or rather more, had perished in

this way, and a clamour like that [25*b*] of the day of Resurrection arose, the rest of the men became careful, and the carpenters engaged in repairing the bridge, and made it fit in a short time, and in the morning the Nawāb crossed over with the rest of the army.

Bhāskar, immediately on hearing of the crossing over of the Nawāb's army, inspite of his having a large force with himself, was overcome by despair; in great agitation he fled away taking with himself only the soldiers and belongings that he could collect in that short time of perplexity and leaving the rest where they were. The Nawāb set out in pursuit; two *kos* from Katwa the two armies came in contact; in the battle many of the enemy were slain, and Bhāskar, seeing it beyond his power to stay longer, took the road to the pass of Pachet. His troops who were dispersed in the limits of Bardwān, Hugli, Hijli and other sides, became alarmed on hearing this news, and in distraction took to flight. The Nawāb, who had not given up the pursuit, entered the jungle of Pachet, and the two armies followed the path [26*a*] separated by less than one day's march from each other. After a few stages, he reached a place where the thick growth of trees made the progress of an ant or a sanke difficult and two horsemen could not ride abreast, and it was impossible to get intelligence of the different regiments of the army; how then could he reach the enemy?

When Bhāskar found no path through that jungle for reaching the frontier of his own country, he helplessly, by the advice of Mir Habib, returned to the jungle of Bishnupur; thence he took the path to the jungle of Chandrakonā, and raising his head in Medinipur, sent a detachment to Katak for expelling Shaikh M'asum.

This detachment came upon Shaikh M'asum who was with a small force in Jajpur. That officer, in spite of the smallness of his troops, bravely gave battle and was killed after a heroic fight.

When 'Alivardi learnt from his spies that Bhāskar had gone to Medinipur, he returned from that impassable jungle to Bardwān, and thence set out towards Medinipur for chasing Bhāskar. When [26*b*] he arrived near Medinipur, Bhāskar fled away towards Bālesar, in utter terror and distraction as he had done from Katwa. The Nawāb set out in pursuit without delay. Two *kos* from Medinipur, Bhāskar made a stand for giving battle, our heroes came up to him, and a severe fight took place, After some had been slain on our side and many on the enemy's, Bhāskar being unable to resist, took to flight. The Nawāb did not give up the pursuit, till Bhāskar reached Katak, and thence entered the jungle country, and after crossing the difficult river, reached safety in his own territory. 'Alivardi after expelling the enemy from the furthest limit of his realm in a ruined condition,

mourned the death of Shaikh M'asum in the loyal discharge of his duty, and at the recommendation of Ghulām Mustafa Khān gave the deputy governorship of Orissa to 'Abdul Rasul Khān the son of the latter's brother.

Account of Safdar Jang . . . and 'Alivardi's titles from the Emperor.—Safdar Jang, under orders of the Emperor to aid 'Alivardi, [27a] came from his province of Oudh to Patna, treated the people of that city with great haughtiness and insolence, and in violation of friendship and courtesy, he took away some guns and two choice elephants of Zainuddin Āhmad Khān, who was at that time in the company of his uncle in the campaign against the Marathas. When 'Alivardi learnt of this humiliating affair from the letter of the deputy (Nawāb) of Patna, he considering it to be opposed to friendship,—as he had already thoroughly chastised Bhāskar without anybody else's help, sent a letter to the Emperor praying to him to forbid Safdar Jang to come (further). The Emperor Muhammad Shāh sent an order to Safdar Jang to return. Safdar Jang returned to Oudh on receiving this farmān. 'Alivardi returned from Katak to his palace in Murshidabad.

When the Emperor heard of the victory of 'Alivardi and [27b] the disgraceful flight of the enemies of the realm and the faith, he gave high praise to 'Alivardi and the title of Husām-ud-daulah, with a jewelled sword and dagger, a pearl necklace, a *sarpech*, and a royal *khi'at*. At the same time at 'Alivardi's request, the Emperor gave the title of Ihtishām-ud-daulah to Shahāmat Jan, Mahām-ud-daulah to Saulat Jang, Ehtarām-ud-daulah to Haibat Jang, Ā'zāz-ud-daulah to 'Atāullah Khān Sābit Jang, and the *mansab* of a three-*hazāri* and the titles of Khān and Bahādur to Ghulām Mustafa Khān.

XII

Author's apology for not having given months and years—which is the duty of historians—in this book.—

What has been written about the doings of 'Alivardi Khan (up to this point) is in the proper order of months and years. But the occurrences and battles of the Nawāb after these (early) years (are not so). The reasons are the lapse of time, the distraction caused by many kinds of calamities, and the indifference of the present Nawāb (Mir Muhammad J'afar). For a long time I sought for some old clerk of this Government whose words might be taken as reliable evidence about the events concerning 'Alivardi, on account of his possessing the information and access to secrets, who might have instructed me, so that I could have recorded things in full detail. But it was not possible.

Hence the (further) writing of this history fell into a long delay and adjournment.

(28a) At last in the year 1177 A.H. (July 1763-June 1764), by reason of the political revolution and the fact of my accompanying the Nawāb'Ala Janāb (Qāsim 'Alī Khān), I happened to come to Allahabad, where my father died. This author, by reason of his old illness, which had continued for two years, found it impossible for him to move and bear the hardship of the (Nawāb's) campaign, and therefore remained in residence at Allahabad on the ground of medical treatment. I passed my days and nights in great anguish of mind, loneliness, and distance from home, in addition to the severity of my illness.

Like a mad man, I turned every hour and every moment to any kind of employment for pacifying my mind, but my distracted mind did not at all return to the normal; like a howling melancholic my mind was unsteady as by the compulsion of some force. As the heart loves to learn news about past times, in the midst of this very condition, it came to my mind, according to the proverb, 'If you cannot get the whole, do not abandon it altogether', that I should attempt to write the remaining history of 'Alivardi, so that in this way, a portion of the memorable achievements (*maāsir*) and virtues of this Nawāb may endure in the annals of time. So, discarding all attempts to insert dates and the proper (sequence of) (28b) events, in the third ten days of the month of Sha'bān (last week of Feb. 1764) I began to write whatever remained in my memory and certain events I had heard of or seen. I beg the readers of these disordered pages to pardon any mistakes they may notice, and correct my errors, if they are so kind.

XIII

The coming of Raghuji Bhonslé with Bhāskar for devastating Bengal. The arrival of Bālā Rāo Pandit, by order of the Emperor for punishing and expelling Raghuji.—

When Bhāskar came (back) to the Deccan, defeated and broken, Raghuji on hearing of it assembled his army and with Bhāskar set out for Bengal. At the same time Bālā Rāo Pandit, the son of the celebrated Bāji Rāo, one of the pillars of the Maratha State, started for Bengal by way of Bundelkhand, by order of the Emperor, for collecting a *tanakha* (assignment) of 15 lakhs of rupees from the revenue of Bengal and expelling Raghuji from that country; and he passed by the outside of the city of Patna. Raghu by the route of the jungles of Birbhum and Bālā Rāo by the frequented public road, set out for Bengal. Raghu having reached Bengal before Bālā Rāo's

arrival, took post between Katwa and Bardwān, and sent Bhāskar with a strong force to Medinipur, and soon afterwards Bālā Rāo, after passing through Bhāgalpur and Rājmahal,—some little loss having befallen that place (29a) in the course of the passage of his troops,—by the further bank of the Bhāgirathi, following a deserted path, alighted near Mankara. 'Alivardi was at that time encamped with his vast army on the bank of the same river. The inhabitants of Murshidabad, in extreme perplexity and terror at the arrival of two such Maratha armies, fell into plans for going out of the city; the hire of a cart or *gāri* from Murshidabad to the bank of the Ganges which was eight *kos* distant, rose to 40 or 50 rupees, and from that place the hire of boats was at (similar rates). A strange state of things occurred; for a few days it was like the tumult of the day of Judgment.

After the arrival of Bālā Rāo, near his own army, 'Alivardi paid him a visit. Bālā Rāo advanced to welcome him and took him into his own tent, where the conjunction of Light and Darkness took place in one spot. After the presentation of gifts, the Nawab returned to his camp. The next day, Bālā Rāo returned the visit; 'Alivardi advanced to the edge of the carpet to welcome him, very graciously seated him on his own cushion (*masnad*), and the two talked together about regulating the affairs of the realm and expelling Raghuji. (29b) Then he gave leave to Bālāji with the customary honours and the gift of elephants, jewels, etc.

Raghuji, who was staying between Katwa and Bardwān, on learning of this union, seeing it impossible for himself to fight the enemy, set out for the jungles in the west side of Bengal. Next day, according to the agreement, the two vast armies of Light and Darkness moved in pursuit of Raghu, and went from the Bhāgirathi stream to the west of Bengal. After one or two marches, Bālā Rāo asked the Nawāb to let him depart, saying that the Nawāb's army could not march as quickly as was necessary for overtaking Raghu, and that after Bālāji had parted from the Nawāb news of the defeat of Raghu would reach 'Alivardi in a few days. After sending this message and taking the assignment of money, Bālāji next day set out for the pursuit of Raghu (16th April, 1743) with the greatest speed possible; he came up with that distracted wanderer in the valley of trouble, fought and defeated Raghu, and then deeming it unnecessary for him to stay in this country, set out for his own country by the hill paths; most of his (Raghuji's) camp and baggage were looted. Bhāskar, who had (30a) gone to Medinipur, on hearing this news, went out through the mountain passes of Orissā in extreme bewilderment. Bālā Rāo with his wish fulfilled, set out for the Deccan

country. 'Alivardi returned to Murshidabad, this time victorious without having had to undergo the hardships of war.

At this time, Husain Quli Khān was dismissed from the deputy governorship of Dacca, because Gokulchand Sarkār, the peshkār of Shahāmat Jang, out of great enmity, drew up accounts showing a large sum as due from him, and the post was given to Yāsin Khān, who had been serving as faujdār (of Dacca) since the time of Shujā-ud-daulah, while the post of faujdār was given to Mir Qalandar. Husain Quli Khān coming to the city (Murshidabad) turned to regaining his lost position ; by presenting a large sum he made Ghasiti Begam, the wife of Shahāmat Jang his intercessor. As her father and husband used to yield to all that she said, she secured the pardōn of Husain Quli Khān, and by emphasising his loyalty induced Shahāmat Jang to restore him to the deputy governorship. The dominance of Husain Quli Khān became even greater than before by reason of (30b) his having secured such a patron, and he set out for Dacca with full assurance of mind. Yāsin Khān, having been dismissed for no fault or peculation and finding unemployment and beggary as his due (reward), retired to a corner (like a *darvish*). 'Atāullah Khān Sābit Jang, who had long been his friend, visited him in his house, consoled him and gave him on his own behalf, the deputy ship (faujdarī) of Bhāgalpur, and sent him to that village. Husain Quli Khān after reaching Dacca, fearless about the officers of the Nawāb owing to his having secured so high a patron as Bibi Ghasiti, removed Gokul Chand from the post of Peshkār, gave him many kinds of trouble as his *mutasaddi*, and appointed Rāj Ballay as his *peshdast*. After taking control of the affairs of Dacca, knowing it to be better to stay at the Nawāb's court, Husain Quli came to Murshidabad, leaving his brother's son as his deputy in Dacca. From that time to his ruin—which will be soon described—day by day his power and domination increased, so much so that every affair, great and small, in the house of Shahāmat Jang was done by his counsel ; and no servant or clerk of Shahāmat Jang had the power to act (31a) against Husain Quli's wishes. Whoever sought his patronage, gained his desire, and whoever tried to oppose him was crushed.

XIV

Bhāskar comes again to Katwa. He is killed along with nineteen sardārs. The realm of Bengal is cleaned from the filth of the life of the wicked.—

As described before, the defeated Bhāskar had gone from Bengal to his own country. Next year Raghu sent Bhāskar again to Bengal

at the head of twenty thousand horsemen, to make peace if possible, or else to engage in fighting. Bhāskar entered Bengal. The Nawāb deemed it necessary to give rest to his army which had endured the hardships of campaigning for successive years. So after the arrival of Bhāskar in Bengal, he sent him outwardly an offer of peace, on the principle "War is a kind of stratagem." He sent Ghulām Mustafa Khān, one of his generals, and Rājā Jānaki Rām, the diwān of his household, to Bhāskar, professedly for arranging peace terms; but informed them of his heart's desire that they should bring Bhāskar to an interview with him by deceiving him with the expectation of a peaceful agreement, and after Bhāskar's arrival, he would slay them. Giving no third person any inkling of this plan, he in order to execute his purpose, moved from Murshidabad to Mankara, on the bank of the Bhāgirathi (31b), five *kos* distant from that city, and encamped there.

Bhāskar had arrived near Katwa. Ghulām Mustafa and Rājā Jānaki Rām went to his halting place, engaged in settling the peace, and by many tricks and spells, with promises and oaths, induced Bhāskar to agree to come and see the Nawāb. Bhāskar sent his confidant 'Alī Bhāi to the Nawāb, with the object of himself going to interview the Nawāb for discussing the peace terms after 'Alī Bhāi had returned and given assurances of trust. Ghulām Mustafa and Jānaki Rām, succeeding in their design, returned with 'Alī Bhāi to the Nawāb. 'Alivardi, with his sweet tongue and charming language, professed such friendship and personal regard for Bhāskar in the presence of 'Alī Bhāi that the last named was bewitched by a belief in the good character of the Nawāb, and went back with Ghulām Mustafa Khān and Rājā Jānaki Rām making full promises of his assistance in fetching Bhāskar.

During the period of these peace discussions the Nawāb (32a) sent every day without cessation, as was customary, many kinds of presents of Bengal, such as food, clothing, fruits, etc., in order to increase the confidence and friendliness in the alarmed heart of Bhāskar. The day of interview having been fixed, one day before it, the Nawāb pitched a lofty tent with spacious screens (*kanāt*) forming a long courtyard; informed Saulat Jāng, Mir Muhammad J'afar Khān, Faqirullah Beg Khān and other generals of his secret plan, and ordered them to place his brave soldiers, fully armed in two or three rows close together, inside the screens, to wait for his order, and when the Nawāb would give the signal, they should instantly, without the least delay, carry out his plan with the utmost bravery, so that after the design had been executed they might be rewarded in various ways. All the soldiers, on hearing this order, girt their loins to do the work.

Next morning, which was to prove the evening of the life of Bhāskar, 'Alivardi, went and sat down in the palace (tent) and waited for the arrival of the preys of death, when Ghulām Mustafa Khān, Jānaki Rām and (32b) 'Ali Bhāi arrived with Bhāskar and the other chiefs of the Marathas in the tent. First the Maratha generals entered the screened tent and stood in a line. As any one of them entered, 'Alivardi inquired, "Is he Rāoji?" till Bhāskar hand in hand with Rājā Jānaki Rām came in. Ghulām Mustafa Khān at this time, taking a few steps forward told the Rājā, "You are one of the great nobles of Hind, why should your hand be in my hand?" By this stratagem he separated his hand (from the hand of Jānaki Rām). Just then the Nawāb cried out in a loud voice, "Slay all these infidels." Immediately on hearing it, the blood-drinking heroes, unsheathed their swords and turned their faces to the infidels and reddened the earth of that field with the blood of the Deccani sardārs in a twinkling of the eye. Bhāskar was slain with 19 of his generals. After the plan had succeeded, 'Alivardi mounted an elephant and with the troops who were standing ready turned against the enemy. Fifteen to twenty thousand Maratha soldiers who were seated on their horses in expectation of the coming back of Bhāskar, at a short distance from the camp, on hearing of the occurrence lost heart and took to flight. The victorious *ghāzis*, pursuing the fugitives, performed a grand *jihad* by slaying, imprisoning and plundering in which they did not at all spare themselves (33a).

After the expulsion of the remnant of the sword from the realm of Bengal,—where not one man of those wicked people was left, the victorious Nawāb returned to Murshidabad, and in reward of this victory satisfied his troops by increasing their allowances and giving many kinds of favour and *in'ām*, and distributed ten lakhs of rupees as reward to the troops. He wrote a report of this victory to the Emperor, praying for the title of Bābur Jang, the grant of *naubat* (band) and increase of his *mansab* in respect of Ghulām Mustafa Khān; and reward for every one of his followers who had shown heroic courage—such as Mir Muhammad J'afar Khān who had received a sword wound, Faqar-(sic)-ullah Beg Khān, Haidar 'Ali Khan, etc. The Emperor Muhammad Khān, issued a *farmān* granting a special *khil'at*, jewels, horse and sword to 'Alivardi, the title of Bābur Jang, the right to play the band (*naubat*) and the *mansab* of a commander of five thousand to Ghulām Mustafa Khan, and promotions of rank for every one recommended by 'Alivardi.

'Alivardi, after so easily achieving such a supreme victory, became reassured in mind, reduced his army, and lived at ease. Every one, high and low, in perfect peace and composure of mind pursued

his chosen profession. Especially Nawāb Shahāmat (33*b*) Jang, who had assembled every kind of instrument of pleasure, wishing to increase them, sent large sums to Delhi and summoned dancers from that city.

Some months passed in this way, when the heavens turned hostile, as I shall soon describe.

At this time Hāji Āhmad, being displeased with his worthy brother, went off to Patna. The facts briefly are these:—Saulat Jang after losing the subahdārship of Orissā, had no high post, and his income did not suffice for his expenses. So 'Alivardī appointed him faujdār of Hugli. Hāji Āhmad too had been long desirous of this faujdārī. At this time the Nawāb's brother quarrelled with his own son. As the income of Hāji Āhmad from the custom duties (*sair*) of Murshidabad and other places exceeded his expenditure, it was not proper to appoint him (to that faujdārī), (so 'Alivardī) took the side of the son. The Nawāb out of his sense of justice, inclining the mind of Hāji Āhmad to this step, gave the [34*a*] faujdārī of Hugli to Saulat Jang. At this Hāji Āhmad, showing displeasure, went away to Patna, where it was predestined that his handful of earth would be overtaken by the calamities which will be shortly afterwards narrated. Zain-ud-din Āhmad Khān, who was more inclined than his brothers to show respect to his father, advanced to welcome him, lodged him in the palace that he chose, and in all affairs did not fail in the least to serve him.

This unfortunate man, in spite of his old age, engaged in many bad deeds, which made him to be cast off by God and accursed by men. He appointed a place before his house, where he piously set up a stone, which was said to be marked with the Prophet's footprints—though such a belief is opposed to the path of his religion. The multitude of shameless (low) people and all the dancers of Patna used to go year after year on every Thursday to the tomb of Shāh Ārzān; but Hāji Āhmad forbade it, and ordered them to attend at the place chosen by himself, instead.

XV

Ghulām Mustafa Khān resigns the Nawāb's service; fights with Zain-ud-din Āhmad Khān for capturing Patna, is defeated, and goes out of the limits of Bihār.—

The power and domination of Ghulām Mustafa Khān exceeded all bounds, so much so that 'Alivardī, in spite of his great sense of dignity and courage, had not the power to issue any order on any affair of the realm without taking his advice, nor did he venture to make any change in the execution (34*b*) of anything, great or small, which he

(G.M.K.) proposed; therefore every zamindār of Bengal turned to him, so that nothing but the name remained to the diwān for the revenue collection of the Khālṣa (Crownlands). 'Alivardi, by reason of his perfect resoluteness of spirit, perceived that from the point of view of expediency he had no remedy except self-restraint. So, he outwardly increased in every way the dignity, conciliation and good treatment of Ghulām Mustafa; but at heart he planned how to put down that troublesome man. One day Ghulām Mustafa Khān, in the customary manner, sent two of his leading captains Udāl Shāh and Hakim Shāh before himself to the darbār, and prepared to follow them afterwards. When these two officers arrived and saw the Nawāb, the author of this book too was by chance present there; only a few servants were in attendance. Just then an eunuch came out of the harem and informed 'Alivardi that his Begam was ill of a severe flux. At the same time the near approach of Ghulām Mustafa was announced. The Nawāb left for the harem to look after the Begam, after telling Udāl Shāh and his brother to wait till his return. At that time some utensils jingled in one of the alcoves (*hujra*) of the palace-chamber. Hearing the noise, Udāl Shāh suspected that evidently the Nawāb had placed some armed men in that alcove for killing him and Ghulām Mustafa, and had himself gone away under that pretext. Under this [35a] false idea, he left the palace and took the road to his own quarters; and informed Ghulām Mustafa Khān who had then arrived near the palace. The Khān, true to the proverb "A deceiver is timid", was always suspecting that the Nawāb would deprive him of his power, and was at all times seeking how to create some pretext for rising against him. So, the utterly false allegation of Udāl Shāh was believed by him as true, and he returned home from the way.

'Alivardi, on hearing of it, very promptly sent Shahāmat Jang to Ghulām Mustafa Khān to console and reassure him by every possible means and bring him to the audience. Shahāmat Jang met Ghulām Mustafa Khān on the way, but failed to persuade him. The Khān went back to his quarters, made the troops of his contingent—who were nine thousand cavalry besides infantry—join his cause and raised the banner of opposition and disturbance. He sent a message to the Nawāb to resign his service and demand his due salary. 'Alivardi tried hard through the medium of Shahāmat Jang, whose words were fully believed by the troops and other people, and by taking all kinds of oaths to reassure the alarmed mind of Ghulām Mustafa, but it [35b] had no effect. He even resolved to personally visit Ghulām Mustafa and pacify him, but on learning for certain that that general mediated treachery and rebellion,—he, without waiting for his officers to hold a muster of the troops present and verify the pay-rolls of the force to be

disbanded, sent seventeen lakhs of rupees to Ghulām Mustafa for his salary (claimed) and ordered him to leave Murshidabad.

In the meantime, Ghulām Mustafa Khān, relying on their friendship, relationship and sameness of religion, promised to Shamsheer Khān, Sardār Khān, Raham Khān and other jama'dārs (captains) that if they joined him, he would after overthrowing Mahābat Jang, share the government of Bengal among themselves. Shamsheer Khān who was a fool, agreed, but Sardār Khān and Raham Khān replied, "If 'Alivardi tries to do you harm, or delays or fails to pay our regular monthly salary and allowances, we shall consider it proper to join you in the revolt. But unless that happens and you intend to mutiny without cause, we are not willing to bear the shame of proving false to our salt". While this was going on, 'Alivardi who was one of the foremost masters of the art of winning hearts, so well exerted himself in this business, that the Afghans became of [36a] one mind in siding with him. Ghulām Mustafa Khān, in despair of winning them over, set out to conquer Patna with eight or nine thousand cavalry.

'Alivardi Khān after paying bounty (*rasum*) to the troops and satisfying their demands and leaving Shahāmāt Jang as his deputy in Murshidabad, set out with his army (for Bihār). Ghulām Mustafa on arriving at Mungir tried to capture its fort. As that fort was for many years wanting in defence materials, Ghulām Mustafa captured it after the death of his brother's son 'Abdul Rasul Khān, whose neck was broken by a stone, and then turned to Patna.

Zain-ud-din Āhmad Khān, who was then in the district of Tirhut on the further side of the Ganges, on hearing this news, crossed the river with the small force that he had with him, and took up his residence in the Garden of Ja'far Khān. He sent Hāji Muhammad Khān, alias Hāji 'Ālam, to Ghulām Mustafa Khān with this message: "If you want to take the city and province, show me the Imperial *sanad* (rescript) for it; if you want to go elsewhere I shall not obstruct you; you follow your path by the outside of the city." Ghulām Mustafa replied, "By reason of their hostility to the faith, it is proper, according to the Holy Law, to destroy this party. According to the saying "The kingdom is to the victor", the suppression of this group does not demand a *sanad*. On the strength of what *sanad* was your uncle authorized to seize Bengal and slay its governor?"

[36b] In short, when Zain-ud-din Āhmad Khān became sure of the hostile intentions of Ghulām Mustafa, although he had been ordered by 'Alivardi not to engage in fighting but to restrain himself and even to evacuate Patna if necessary, and join Alivardi, so that after their junction they might together attack the enemy—he out of his inborn valour, disobeyed these instructions, and with his five or six thousand

soldiers, old and newly recruited, decided like a true hero and man of honour, to give battle to the enemy. Digging trenches, and stationing his troops, he remained ready for battle with the utmost firmness. Ghulām Mustafa Khān with Dilir Khān (and other) Afghan captains, advanced to give battle.

Zain-ud-din Āhmad Khān with his troops, determined on death, got ready for battle. Ghulām Mustafa attacked the rear of Zain-ud-din's army, broke into the trenches, plundered the camp, penetrated to near Zain-ud-din, and kindled the flame of fighting. Although great dispersion had seized the troops of Zain-ud-din and not more than two hundred men were with him at this time, his firmness was not at all shaken, but he [37a] continued resolutely to repel the enemy. At this time Ghulām Mustafa's elephant-driver was shot off his mount, so that his elephant went out of control. At the same time Udal Shāh, Hakim Shāh and other pillars of Ghulām Mustafa's army were slain, and he alighted from his elephant wishing to take another mount. His troops on seeing this movement, broke their formation and scattered on all sides. Ghulam Mustafa, seeing the day lost, retreated.

Zain-ud-din Āhmad Khān, who had not dreamt of this victory, thanked God, set out in pursuit and stood fast near the outside of his entrenchment. Ghulām Mustafa Khān devoted himself to fight, so that for seven days there was an exchange of artillery fire between the two sides.

On the eighth day, Ghulām Mustafa Khān sent his camp away to Mithāpur west of Patna, and himself rode out for battle, and attacked that side where he had delivered his first assault. This time, also, Zain-ud-din and his followers fought most heroically. During this encounter a musket ball [37b] hit Ghulām Mustafa and he fell down on the *hauda* of his elephant; unable to fight he turned his back to the field, and went to his camp. Next day he started from that place on his onward journey. Meantime 'Alivardi who had marched from Bengal for expelling (the enemy) arrived a few leagues from Patna. Zain-ud-din Āhmad advanced quickly to welcome his uncle, met him, and the two together moved fast in pursuit of the enemy.

Ghulām Mustafa Khān owing to the dispersion of his troops and the slaying of some pillars of his army, had not the power to fight and make a stand at any place, but went out of the boundaries of Bihār. 'Alivardi went to pursuit of him up to the extreme frontier of Bihār, and wished to cross the Ganges and plunder Benares in revenge for the violence done by Safdar Jang in Patna city. But at this time the Emperor Muhammad Shāh had gone to Bangarh to punish 'Alī Muhammad Ruhela, and Safdar Jang was with him. Therefore, 'Alivardi restrained himself from this design, lest the Emperor should

be displeased; he only ordered his troops to plunder Zamānia, a territory [38a] belonging to Safdar Jang's subah. They returned victorious after slaying, enslaving and plundering the inhabitants of Zamānia. At this time news arrived that the wretch Raghuji had reached Katak with the object of helping Ghulām Mustafa and devastating Bengal.

XVI

The second coming of Raghu Bhonslé to the territory of Murshidabad; he encamps at places in Birbhum, and goes to the territory of Bihār for releasing Ghulām Murtaza Khān who was besieged; and other fighting occurrences.—

When Ghulām Mustafa Khān went into rebellion he sent a letter to Raghuji, who had been smarting like a snake bit on the head and looking out for an opportunity to avenge the slaughter of Bhāskar and 22 of his sardārs,—he now considered the arrival of Ghulām Mustafa's letter as a heaven-sent opportunity, and set out for Bengal with 24,000 horsemen. Crossing the hills of Katak he entered Bengal. 'Alivardi after defeating Ghulām Mustafa was staying near Patna city, when he learnt from Shahāmat Jang's letter of the arrival of Raghuji. As the city of Murshidabad was without a defensive wall or ditch, and Shahāmat Jang had not the power of opposing Raghu properly, 'Alivardi entrusted to Zain-ud-din Md. Khān the conclusion of the [38b] affair of Ghulām Mustafa,—who was moving around Chunārgarh, and leaving Raham Khān under Zain-ud-din, returned to Bengal, and after some marches reached Murshidabad.

In the meantime, Raghuji having passed Bālesar and Medinipur, reached Bardwān. As 'Alivardi was not fully composed in mind about the war with Ghulām Mustafa, he deemed it good policy to send Mun'im 'Ali Khān as envoy to Raghuji with a proposal of peace. Raghuji, imagining 'Alivardi for the above reason to be distracted and reduced in strength, demanded three krores of rupees as the price of peace. After two months had passed in these negotiations, news came of Ghulām Mustafa Khān having been killed.

It happened in this way:—The Khān whose courage had reached the extreme limit of audacity, did not give up his plans of ambition and dignity, in spite of the slaughter of his chiefs, helpers, relatives and tribesmen; but after collecting some thousands of horsemen, came forth towards Patna to fight Zain-ud-din Ahmad a second time. Zain-ud-din who had truly learnt the art of commanding from his great uncle,—in addition to his inborn capacity,—without neglecting

defence against the enemy, enlisted about ten or twelve thousand horsemen, and set out to meet the enemy on the way. The two armies met near Bhojpur. After a battle in which both sides fought heroically, Ghulām Mustafa was shot dead by a musket bullet.

After this wonderful victory, 'Alivardi, in the matter of asking for peace, sent a message to Raghu to this effect:—"A party seeks to make peace only when it has been thrashed and ruined or when it expects to gain some advantage. God be praised, up to now no weakness or harassment at all has been inflicted upon my holy warriors (*ghāsis*) in their fights with the wicked infidels. On the contrary, they are every day more and more eager to wage this war, and they do not wish for any other close relation than this (*jihad*). Therefore, the conclusion of the peace will be put off till the tigers of the forest [39a] of Islamic battle have fought the crocodiles of the river of Darkness to such an extent that a stream having issued from their blood they would swim in that river of blood and ply their swords against each other. Thereafter the side that will be defeated will seek for peace."

Raghu replied, "In eager desire for this very thing, I have traversed nearby a thousand *kos* and arrived near you, and yet you have not walked even a hundred *kos* to meet me on the way (*lit.* to welcome me.)" The Nawāb sent this reply, "The rainy season has now arrived. You have undergone the hardships of a long journey before alighting here. It is proper that you take rest in some suitable place, so that your troops may recover from the fatigue of the march, enjoy repose for some time, and become again fit for fighting. On the expiry of the rainy season I shall, with God's help, advance as far as your kingdom to welcome you."

Raghuji listening to this friendly advice and seeing it expedient to consent to this step, went to places in Birbhum and encamped, and all the subah of Orissā up to Medinipur and Hijli and Bardwān remained in Raghuji's possession. While he was (thus) halting, he received letters from Ghulām Murtaza Khān, the son of the slain Ghulām Mustafa Khān, who was invested in Makri Koh, and Buland Khān and other Afghans in quick succession. Their purport was—"If you turn from that [39b] side to this and release us your friends from this danger, we some thousands of men will follow you like slaves and not fail to sacrifice our lives in your cause." Raghuji wishing to make some thousands of Afghan troopers obedient to him, set out at the end of the rainy season, from his halting place towards Patna by the jungle route. 'Alivardi at the beginning of winter started for Patna with ten to twelve thousand cavalry by the frequented highway for uprooting the enemy. As Raghuji after plundering the environs of Patna, such as Shaikhpurā, Tikāri, and other places, had gone to the

further side of the river Son for the purpose of relieving Ghulām Murtaza Khān, at no place in the way did 'Alivardi encounter the enemy. The Nawāb passing by the city of Patna, encamped outside it on the western side, then advancing some leagues from that place, alighted on the bank of the Son river near Muhib 'Alipur.

Raghuji, after releasing Ghulām Murtaza on the other side of the Son, with a force of nearly twenty thousand Marathas and Afghans, turned his face to the battle-field. A great battle (Nov. 1745) was fought on the bank of that river; every one of our generals,—such as 'Atāullah Kh. Sābit Jang, Mir Md. J'afar Kh., Haider 'Ali Kh., Shamsheer Kh., Sardār Kh., Raham Kh., and Zain-ud-din Āhmad Kh., Haibat Jang, with their followers fought most gallantly. On this field, Mir Md. J'afar Kh. exerted himself most. At last Raghu with a small party of [40a] his troops, very bravely came on to oppose 'Alivardi, and was engaged in fighting when a bullet hit his mouth and knocked out his teeth. In spite of his having received such a blow, Raghu did not consent to flee, but continued with great steadiness and spirit to oppose our army; for eighteen days fighting continued between the party of Paradise and the party of Hell; but the fight was not like the first day's battle, only very often when an opportunity offered each attacked and plundered the other's troops.

During this time 'Alivardi's consort the Nawāb Begam Sāhib sent on her own behalf Naqi 'Ali Kh. and Muzaffar 'Ali Kh. to Raghuji for peace. These two envoys, through the medium of Habibullah Kh. interviewed Raghu and delivered their message. Raghu who had repeatedly witnessed the blows dealt by our heroes, was inclined to making peace instead of continuing the war. But Habibullah Kh., who bore a deadly hostility to 'Alivardi, did not agree to making peace; on the contrary dissuading Raghu from such a purpose he advised him to go to Murshidabad, being confident that as that city was without a commanding authority and 'Alivardi was at such a distance, the capital could be easily taken. Raghu also, knowing himself to be no warlike man, and in the matter of peace negotiations [40b] ascribing deception to 'Alivardi—being, like the Kāfir that he was, forgetful of the Tradition 'War is a sort of stratagem', did not believe in the offer of peace, and accepting the counsel of Mir Habibullah Kh., marched towards Murshidabad.

Next day, 'Alivardi set out for Patna in pursuit of him. Up to their arrival at Patna our soldiers underwent the greatest hardship because of the looting of their grain on the (first) day of battle and the failure of fresh supplies to arrive, so that scarcity reached the extreme point in our camp. Raghu not stopping there set out for Bengal; so, 'Alivardi marched in pursuit of him. When the Nawāb reached the

nālā of Champānagar at the village of Bhāgalpur, Raghu seizing an opportunity made a raid on his camp, plundered a portion of the men in the rear with the camp and baggage, and then set off for Bengal by the jungle route. 'Alivardi, hastened by the public highway, and wrote to Nawāzish Md. (*sic*) Kh. Shahāmat Jang to guard the city till his arrival. Raghu reached the environs of Murshidabad one day before the Nawāb's arrival, set fire to the villages near the city, such as [41a] Chhapāidah and the garden of Mīr Md. J'afar Kh. and plundered them. Just then the army of 'Alivardi reached the outskirts of the city. Raghu, immediately on hearing of it vacated the field without fighting, and with all the Maratha troops from the further bank of the Bhāgirathi set out towards the south and west of the city.

'Alivardi after halting for three or four days at Chhapāidah, resumed his march, and passing by the outside of the city towards the *Katra* of J'afar Kh. encamped at Āmāniganj beyond the city of Murshidabad. On one more occasion a great battle was fought with Raghu at the Rāni Talāo, on the further side of Katwa. In this battle, he displayed all his strength, but after many Marathas had been slain and all his efforts not promising him victory, he found himself powerless to fight any more and turned his back to the field. 'Alivardi, not giving up the pursuit, followed him.

Raghuji, after having been repeatedly beaten by our troops and lost many troops in this way, and in addition, receiving news of disturbances in his own kingdom, returned to his country in disappointment, leaving Habibullah Kh. with two or three thousand Maratha horse and six or seven [41b] thousand Afghans of Ghulām Murtaza Kh., Buland Kh., and others in Medinipur. When 'Alivardi learnt of his repeated flights and going outside the frontiers of Bengal, he returned to Murshidabad, because his soldiers had suffered great privations during these long campaigns, and he engaged himself in giving them repose and the chance of recuperation. Here he turned to regulating the affairs of administration, and improving the condition of his soldiers and peasantry.

XVII

The marriage of Ākrām-ud-daulah and Sirāj-ud-daulah.—

These marriages were celebrated with greatest splendour and decoration; it is no exaggeration to say that Bengal had never before seen such grand celebrations. 'Alivardi gave away about one thousand robes, and Shahāmat Jang at the marriage of Ākrām-ud-daulah nearly thousand resplendent robes,—each priced from a hundred to a thousand rupees, and some of them even higher, to all their kinsfolk, fellow-

tribesmen, followers, companions and dancing girls and musicians. For one month, nay longer, feasting continued in the houses of both these chiefs. There remained no man, high or middle class, among the inhabitants of the city who did not get a share of this bounty (food) repeatedly; and every man's portion, which is popularly known as *torah*, was made up at a cost of twenty to twentyfive rupees; and thousands [42a] of these were distributed.¹

A little about the affairs of 'Atāullah Kh.—After his arrival in Bengal he was given by Hāji Āhmad his daughter in marriage. When 'Alivardi went to Patna as deputy governor, at Rājmahal by order of Shujā-'ud-daulah, 'Atāullah was appointed to the charge of that city as deputy of Kār Talb Khān, (a son of Shujā's paternal uncle, who had kinship with that Khān.) As Hāji Āhmad was kindly disposed to him, his interests prospered, till after the death of Shujā, Sarfarāz Khān, who was not well inclined to Hāji Āhmad, appointed his own kinsman (*khesk*) Hasan Md. Kh. as faujdār of Rājmahal by dismissing 'Atāullah Kh. Hāji Āhmad, on learning of it, as he was always on the lookout for bringing his brother 'Alivardi from Patna in order to improve his own position—which was truly a cause of (his) eternal ruin—with great humility supplicated Sarfarāz, through the friendly inter-cession of Rāi-i-Rātān 'Ālam Chand, to retain 'Atāullah in that office on the pretext of its being necessary (for the collection of revenue) till the completion of the year. His real reason was that at that time the path to Bengal had to cross the Sakrigali defile. In the midst of these things, 'Alivardi (as I have narrated before) entered the pass of Sakrigali and gained his object; he made 'Atāullah Kh. substantive faujdār of Rājmahal and added the *ilāqa* of [42b] Bhāgalpur to his charge, and assigned two thousand horsemen to his contingent, whom he was given the authority to enlist or dismiss.

As Shahāmat Jang and his wife very much loved 'Atāullah, his position improved day by day, till he became a *six-hazāri* mansabdār (six thousand sawār rank), and was granted by the Emperor the right to play *naubat*, use the fringed pālki, and the title of Ā'zāz-ud-daulah Bahādur Sābit Jang.

A short account of Muhammad Iraj Khān.—His grandfather Mustafa Quli Kh. was the trusted diwān of the household of Md. Āz'am Shāh the son of 'Ālamgir. During the prince's stay in Gujrat, Mustafa Quli held high offices in that province. He had three sons—

¹ Text corrupt in both Mss. *Siyar*, i. 154, gives the correct account, as follows: "Ākrām the younger brother was married first, because the affianced bride of Sirāj had suddenly died. 'Alivardi gave away about one thousand robes at the marriage of Ākrām and two thousand at that of Sirāj." The food distributed is known in Hindustan as *torah*, "a tray of various kinds of food presented to others by great men". Forbes, *Hind-Eng. Dict.*, p. 259. Not to be confounded with *tora* or bag of money.

Ākbar Qulī Kh. (the father of Iraj Kh.), Shāh Qulī Kh. and Mirzā Md. Naqī; all the brothers, particularly Shāh Qulī and Ākbar Qulī, enjoyed very great honour. Mustafa Qulī died in the lifetime of the prince. Prince Āz'am had conferred the charge of his artillery on Shāh Qulī Kh., a few days before the battle of Jājau, in which both of them were slain. Ākbar Qulī Kh. during Prince Farrukhsiyar's stay in Bengal lived here with honour, in what capacity this [43a] author does not know. After his death, in the reign of Farrukhsiyar, Md. Iraj Kh. was a friend of Ghairat Kh. and his time passed without distress. After the slaying of the Sayyid brothers, and the end of the government of Farrukhsiyar, he (Iraj) went with Mubārīz-ul-mulk Sarbuland Kh. to Gujrat and followed him for some time; then leaving him he came to Bengal. Shujā'-ud-daulah, who highly valued his forefathers, enlisted him among his personal attendants. In the battle of Sarfarāz with 'Alivardī, Iraj Kh. was wounded and his son was killed. For a time he remained at home without any employment.

Then the new rulers turned to conciliating him and enrolled him as an officer (*naukar*) of 'Alivardī's Government. But owing to his great friendship he mostly remained with 'Atāullah Kh. Ā'zāz-ud-daulah. At this time the daughter of 'Atāullah Kh. who had been betrothed to Sirāj-ud-daulah died. 'Alivardī, who knew of the high qualities of his family for many past generations, begged of him his daughter for being married to Sirāj-ud-daulah. After the marriage he cherished him and gave him some 'ilāqas of Bengal.

XVIII

'Alivardī goes to expel the Marathas who were spread in Katak and Bālesar. Jānoji the son of Raghuji comes to near Katak. Mir J'afar Kh., without fighting, falls back on Bardwān.—

Although 'Alivardī, after Raghuji had left the limits [43b] of Bengal, returned to Murshidabad for giving rest to his troops, yet his mind was always oppressed by the stay of the Maratha army in Katak, Bālesar and Medinipur, and he did not neglect to remedy it. After consultation, he decided to give the robe of subahdār of Katak to Saulat Jang and appoint Mir Md. J'afar, deputy governor of Orissā, and faujdār of Medinipur and Hijli, besides the bakhshiship which he had been holding from before, giving him a jewelled *sarpech*, a *jigha*, a sword, an elephant and horses. Saulat Jang also, on his own behalf gave him a *khil'at* with jewels. Mir Md. J'afar Kh. in the presence of the Nawāb gave the deputy bakhshiship to his uncle's son, Mir Ism'ail, he sent Sujān Singh as his faujdār of Hijli, and by order of 'Alivardī set out with 7,000 to 8,000 horse and ten to twelve thousand foot, for

regulating the province of Orissā and expelling the Marathas. After marching he arrived near Medinipur. The party of Marathas and Afghans who were there, after futile fighting, took the road to Bālesar.

Mir Md. J'afar Kh. with his army entered Medinipur and ordered his troops to encamp on this side of the river Kansāi. But Mir Md. J'afar's nature was wholly bent on pleasure and [44a] idleness, and Ghulām 'Alī (the son of Hakim Beg) and Mir 'Alī Kh.,—who in spite of his professing to belong to a respectable family was known to be a man of low and vulgar character, established complete influence over his mind and they remained day and night intoxicated and sunk in stupidity. Although 'Alivardi wrote to him again and again to go to Katak and drive the Marathas out, he did not at all listen to it.

At last the news spread that Jānoji the son of Raghuji had come near Katak. 'Alivardi, seeing that it was impossible to fight and expel the Marathas by means of Mir Md. J'afar Kh., himself started towards Bardwān, with his army, and Saulat Jang, 'Atāullah Kh., Haidar 'Alī Kh., Faqirullah (*sic*) Beg Kh., and among the Afghan captains Shamsheer Khān, Sardār Kh., 'Umar Kh., Raham Kh., &c. and 'Alī Āshghar Kubrā who had come to India at the call of 'Atāullah and with all honours become a sharer in the campaign.

In the meantime, the advanced troops of Jānoji, having reached the further side of the river Kansāi, carried away some elephants &c. (of the Bengal troops). Mir Md. J'afar Kh. though he had sixteen to seventeen thousand horse and foot under him, without getting correct news (of the enemy) or [44b] striking a blow, withdrew from Medinipur and took the road to Bardwān. 'Alivardi, who on hearing this news, had advanced from Bardwān, met Md. J'afar at Jhinkra. As J'afar had shown negligence and slothfulness in doing his assigned task, and because it was quite contrary to the conduct of a commander and a brave man to retreat before the enemy in spite of his own superiority of strength,—'Alivardi after censuring him—which he fully deserved—sent him back to his quarters.

Mir Md. J'afar Kh. according to the saying, "Truth is bitter", manifesting wounded feelings, gave up attending the Court. 'Alivardi, out of his kindliness of heart and politeness of manners, paid a visit to Mir Md. J'afar's tent on the plea of condoling with him (*lit.*, reading the *fatīha*) on the occasion of the death of one of his relatives. Mir Md. J'afar Kh., having seven or eight thousand troops and the materials of a commander with him, took a wrong idea into his head; he did not go out to welcome 'Alivardi on the way and say his say humbly,—as regard for the Nawāb's rank demanded—but took certain steps unworthy of his position.

'Alivardi returned to his own tent, and discerning the marks of

stupidity and insolence in his conduct, summoned Sujān Singh, the deputy of Mir Md. J'afar in Hijli, to render accounts of the revenue of that part. [45a] Mir Md. J'afar, opposing (*lit.*, modifying) this order, to send Sujān, replied "The carrying of my saw (*ar*, or disgrace?) is the duty of my own head". 'Alivardi being angry at receiving such an impertinent reply, sent Mir Sayyid Muhammad Yasāwal (State messenger) with some men to bring Sujān Singh willingly or by force. This man, who had a violent temper, after going to Mir Md. J'afar Kh., spoke some harsh words, and seizing the hand of Sujān Singh, brought him away.

Next day, 'Alivardi deemed it expedient to confer the faujdāri of Hijli in his own right on Sujān Singh and the bakhshiship, *vice* Mir Md. J'afar Kh. dismissed, on Nurullah Beg Kh. and signed an order for dismissing the contingent of Mir Md. J'afar Kh. These dismissals and new appointments at once extinguished the pride of Mir Md. J'afar Kh. and he sank into the nook of obscurity (or contempt.)

Just then the Nawāb heard of the arrival of Jānoji near our camp. Next morning the Maratha-Afghan army came on for battle; from this side 'Alivardi moved out with his army and fighting began between the parties of Heaven and Hell. The Islamic heroes by their blows and rapid musket fire caused smoke to come out of the brains of the Deccani troops. (45b) In this battle Sayyid 'Ali Āsghar Kubrā, displaying greater valour than other heroes, slew many of the Marathas. Jānoji unable to contend, took to flight. Thereafter, knowing that he could not face the Nawāb's army he planned to plunder Murshidabad 'Alivardi, on hearing of it, went in pursuit of him so fast that the enemy could do no harm to the inhabitants of that city. Jānoji, this time after making some futile efforts (raids) on the environs of Murshidabad, took the road to Medinipur, defeated and broken. The Nawāb without delay set out in pursuit of him. But as Jānoji without halting at any place reached Medinipur, 'Alivardi owing to the nearness of the rainy season, put off the destruction of the enemy to the next year, and returned to Murshidabad in order to give repose to his soldiers who had gone through exhausting marches and fighting.

In this battle 'Ali Āsghar Kh. Kubrā had displayed [46a] great valour, but as his movements and stay had betrayed signs of disloyalty and deception and as 'Atāullah Kh. for the sake of helping him cherished some futile designs,—'Alivardi dismissed 'Ali Āsghar and expelled him from Murshidabad with every kind of severity.

When the rainy season of this year ended, 'Alivardi according to the rule that a king should be ever vigilant started with a strong force from Murshidabad towards Medinipur for expelling Jānoji. Jānoji had been so terror-stricken by the valour of our troops that he did not

cherish the least idea of giving battle, but according to his customary practice, when the Nawāb came nearer, he went away to rove in the jungle country west of Bengal, known as Bishnupur and Pachet.

'Alivardi without giving up the chase, entered the jungle with his army. Jānoji passed every day at a (different) place and every night in the wilderness. As provisions did not reach our army, the price of food stuffs reached famine limits in our camp and the rice and *ghee* of our troops became totally unobtainable. For some days the troops boiled the fat of oxen in the place of *ghee*. The jungle was so [46*b*] thickly overgrown with trees that the vanguard under 'Atāullah Kh., Sardār Kh., and Shamsheer Kh., having gone a few *kos* ahead in pursuit of the enemy, no news of them reached the Nawāb for three days; and the two divisions sought each other. 'Alivardi, becoming alarmed at this state of things, after deep meditation, ordered that in the jungle the drummers of Saulat Jang should loudly beat their kettle-drums in a manner contrary to custom, so that the noise might possibly reach the ears of the vanguard, and they would thus get news of each other. This excellent device succeeded, and the vanguard who were only a short distance away but owing to the dense jungle had no knowledge of the position of each other, now on hearing the beat of the drums, turned towards the Nawāb's station and met him on the fourth day.

During this stay in the jungle, Jānoji never once chose to give battle, but went away in disappointment from the jungle of Bishnupur to Bardwān. 'Alivardi on hearing of it, issued from that intricate jungle and marched towards Bardwān; and Jānoji on learning of his near approach, fled without fighting towards Medinipur. 'Alivardi knowing that [47*a*] Jānoji would not fight our army, returned to Murshidabad to give rest to his worn out troops and put off the expulsion of the Marathas from the province to the next year.

XIX

The mutiny of Shamsheer Khān and other Afghans, their attempt to conquer Patna. Zainuddin Āhmad Khān is killed. 'Alivardi marches to extirpate the Afghans. They are slain in battle. The family of Zainuddin is released.—

Raghu Bhonslā, after being repeatedly beaten by our troops, took to cunning and deception, and wrote offering, in return for alliance with him, the governorship of Bihār to 'Atāullah Kh., and one lakh of rupees in cash to Sardār Kh. and Shamsheer Kh., and two lakhs of rupees on condition of killing Zainuddin Āhmad Kh. and seizing (the city of) Patna, along with the faujdāri of Darbhanga, and the enlist-

ment of 12,000 (Afghan) horsemen. Thus these persons being assured of support, decided again to rebel against 'Alivardi, and wished to resign his service. However much 'Alivardi tried to conciliate them, they did not listen. So he dismissed these men who numbered nearly six or seven thousand. After taking their pay they set out for Darbhanga [47*b*] where they had been in residence for many years.

In the year when Ghulām Mustafa Khan had risen in rebellion, he had invited Shamsheer Khān and Sardār Khān to join him, but they had declined, and had loyally followed the Nawāb. After Ghulām Mustafa Khān had been killed in the year 1158 [June 1745 A.D.] Shamsheer Kh. and Sardār Kh. in reward of their fidelity were granted by 'Alivardi an increase of their pay and an addition to their contingents, which they had begged for. Seeing the number of their retainers increased from the past, they ventured to carry out the ambition that they had in their hearts. At the end of the above year, Raghuji invaded Bengal, as has been narrated before, and he invested the environs of Murshidabad, trying to prevent the coming of grain and other necessities from Bhagwāngolā to Murshidabad. Murshidabad is situated on [48*a*] the bank of the stream called the Bhāgirathi, and the beginning of its mouth, where it starts from the Ganges (=the Padmā) dries up, in all seasons except the rains, the flow of water in the Bhāgirathi falls to knee-depth, by reason of the junction of some *nālās* from the west, so that boats find it difficult to ply on it. For this reason all the produce of the further bank of the a Ganges that come to Murshidabad, at all times except in the rainy season, arrive in boats (only) up to the ferry known as Bhagwāngolā, which is six or seven *kos* from the city of Murshidabad.

'Alivardi who was then staying at Āmāniganj, sent Shamsheer Kh. and Sardār Kh. to guard the road to Bhagwāngolā and to prevent the Marathas from molesting wayfarers, and they went to Bhagwāngolā. As they had long cherished the desire of seizing the government of Bengal, at this time, trying to realise that design, they felt that the best means of success was to make an alliance with Raghu. They wrote friendly letters to him and informed him of their desire, in such a manner as to induce him to agree. So, they neglected to guard the road, and the Marathas plundered the oxen and grain etc. on the road on some occasions. On hearing of it, 'Alivardi summoned Shamsheer Kh. and Sardār Kh. to his presence and appointed Sa'id Kh. Saulat Jang to guard the Bhagwāngolā road.

[48*b*] When Raghu, as I have narrated before, after leaving Mir Habibullah with a Maratha force in Medinipur, himself took the road to the Deccan in defeat, signs of Shamsheer Kh. and Sardār Kh.'s hostility

appeared every day, and they took certain steps which pointed to their disloyalty, so much so that a strong report became current that they were planning rebellion and only waiting for an opportunity to slay 'Alivardi by treachery. 'Alivardi too ordered his men to be on the alert and on the defensive. At this time these generals demanded some additional payments (*takālif*) with unbearable importunity. 'Alivardi deemed it good policy to dismiss them with their six or seven thousand troopers, and ordered them to be turned out of the city. Three or four months after this affair, in the first months of winter, the Nawāb was encamped at Āmāniganj for chastising the Marathas who were occupying Medinipur, when Mir Ābul Mu'ālī, who had formerly been steward (Khān-i-sāmān) of Burhān-ul-mulk, and was now living [49a] with Haibat Jang in great honour, came as envoy from him with this message: "Shamsher Kh. and Sardār Kh. after their dismissal have been living in their old homes in Darbhanga, with a force of Afghans under them. The expulsion of this tribe is very difficult, and their stay in this province without any employment is the cause of disorder. In these circumstances I pray that if you permit it, I may enlist them with two or three thousand of their troopers; but as there is not enough land in this province to supply the pay of these troops and I have no means of providing the money, I pray that their salary may be paid by you."

'Alivardi at first declined the proposal but at last to please Haibat Jang, consented, and the envoy returned successful to Haibat Jang.

I have heard from trustworthy witnesses that Haibat Jang had two reasons for taking this step: (1) After engaging them in his service, he would wait for an opportunity to get rid of them (slay) as he had done to Raushan Khān, and cleanse the district of Tirhut, even all the province of Bihār, of their existence, so that thereafter he might have no fear from their bravery. (2) Zainuddin Āhmad Khan had learnt the act of ruling and management of affairs from his uncle, but he imagined that he was a cleverer man than any in practising deception and fraud, and hence had the utmost confidence [49b] in the correctness of his own wisdom. His design was to leave a deputy in Patna, and with the help of the Afghan troops, place his great uncle in retirement like a venerable old man (*Khwājāwar*) and prevent his elder brothers Shahāmat Jang and Saulat Jang from gaining possession of Bengal, and thus himself gain control over the entire country. But this author had heard directly from the late Mahdi Nisār Kh., who was Haibat Jang's bakhshi, that Haibat Jang definitely had the intention of treating his uncle as the latter had treated his master Sarfarāz Kh. by the advice of his father Hāji Āhmad. Anyhow, as he was inspired by a wicked aim in this enterprise, a great retribution resulted in executing

the details, and according to the saying, "He who digs a hole for his brother verily falls into it," his plan landed him in a bad plight.

In short, after the return of Mir Ābul Mu'ālī, Haibat Jang being bent on placating the Afghans, asked them to enter his service. They after being reassured in their minds and taking solemn promises from him, agreed, and Shamsheer Kh., his sister's son Murād Sher Kh., and Sardār Kh., with two or three thousand troops enlisted under him. Starting from Darbhāṅgā, they halted on the further bank [50a] of the Ganges. Next day Zainuddin Āhmad Kh. went to them by boat with two or three *khawās* servants and his young son Mirzā Mahdi, in order to conciliate the Afghans still more, and after meeting them and giving them many kinds of gifts (or favours), returned, and issued orders that the Afghans should be allowed to cross the Ganges with their soldiers.

The next morning (13th January, 1748) which was to be the night of Zainuddin's life, was fixed for the audience of the Afghans. Haibat Jang in order to reassure the minds of the Afghans, ordered that no soldier of his own except a few *khawās* should be present at his *darbār*. Coming out of his private chamber, he sat down in utter carelessness in the Hall of Forty Pillars, on his *masnad*. That day all the Afghan troops mounted their horses, and sat armed and ready for the time of action, from the Garden of J'afar Kh. to the gate of the Fort of Patna. First Sardār Kh. came to the audience and was given leave to go after receiving favours, to send up Shamsheer Kh. promptly. At that time Murād Sher Khān (the sister's son of Shamsheer Khān) was seated there, and Haibat Jang asked him about the coming of Shamsheer. Murād Sher replied that in order to avoid crowding, [50b] he had sent (Murād) Kh. to the interview first, and after Murād had returned he himself would come for this interview. Zainuddin Āhmad Kh. gave the betel-leaf of *conge* to Murād Sher and to everyone of his brothers. At this time one of them struck his dagger into the stomach of Haibat Jang and finished him; and the other fat Afghans who had come ready for this work, drew their swords, fell upon the few attendants who were present there, and slew most of them, and wounded some; a number of the Nawāb's servants fled away to corners and so saved themselves. Sardār Kh. and Shamsheer Kh. with the Afghan soldiers who were seated on their horses outside the Fort, in readiness for such a time, galloped into the Fort, looted all parts (*ātrāf*) of the mansion of Zainuddin Āhmad, and turned to the city.

When this awful news reached Hāji Āhmad, he did not at first credit it, but when it was verified, he acted like a distracted man. From this time till near midday he had the opportunity; if he had

quickly mounted a horse, taken the road to Bengal and reached his brother, he would not have undergone the dishonour and torture that he actually suffered. But he kept planning how to take away his jewels [51a] and gold coins,—till at last Shamsheer Kh.'s men arrived in search of him. At that time in confusion he withdrew his hand from every thing, leaped down from the wall (of his mansion) and hid himself in the house of a very poor artisan [for *harf* read *harfa*]; but near the evening ('*asar*') the men of Shamsheer Kh. (discovered him and) took him to that general, placing him on a *chaupālā* without a screen, with every kind of dishonour.

Shamsheer Kh. after the killing of Zainuddin Āhmad Kh., did not stay in the fort, but after placing a guard in the house of the murdered man, took away his women and children with himself to the Garden of J'afar Kh., placed them in a small tent near his own tent, and seated Hāji Āhmad under the shade of a *qanāt* popularly called *qabchi* (?) and put guards on them.

He turned to the plan of fighting 'Alivardi and capturing the subah of Bengal. Opening his hand in gift and liberality, he in a short time collected nearly forty to fifty thousand Afghan horsemen. As for the property of Zainuddin Āhmad, I have heard from trustworthy narrators, that three lakhs of rupees in cash came into his hands. For obtaining the treasure of Hāji Āhmad, he practised on the latter every sort of rigour and torture and subjected him to many kinds of insult and disgrace in speech and act. That worldling, in [51b] these circumstances, out of his love of life gave information about the hiding places of his treasure under torture, till in the course of days nearly sixty or seventy lakhs of rupees in rupees and mohars, besides jewellery were secured from him. At last the torture inflicted on him in extracting his treasure brought on his death. The Afghans digging a humble (*kamin*) grave buried his body in it. Then extending their hand in extortion upon all the inhabitants of the city, they imposed a fixed (total) amount of levy on the people high and low. A great tumult and convulsion set in. Most of the higher people were put to dishonour.

XX

In short, towards the end of Muharram (c. 19 January, 1748), Alivardi at Āmāniganj received news of this calamity. Although mortified at the murder of a capable son (i.e., nephew and son-in-law) whom he knew to be like his own self in capacity for ruling, and the shameful captivity of his, brother, his daughter and her children,—the loss of the government of Patna,—and the fact that most of his best

troops like 'Umr Kh., Raham Kh. and others, famous for their ability and courage, were among the rebels, 'Alivardi outwardly [52a] showed wonderful self control and composure of mind, and with the greatest dignity and mastery ordered the mobilisation of all his troops. After they had been assembled, he addressed them thus. "Gentlemen, calamity has come, difficulty has come. What is the remedy now?" They unanimously replied, "We are obedient, and shall do what you decide." 'Alivardi said, "My worthy son has been killed; his wife and children and my brother are in vile captivity. After meeting with such a calamity life tastes bitter to me, and I have no remedy except to slay and be slain. As the claims of your faithful attachment to me for so many years are incumbent on me, in respect of those who are willing to help me I shall not spare my life or wealth for their sake; as for those who are unwilling I shall not press them. As I prefer my own death to life under these conditions, I am not in need of any associate in death." All the men present, high and low alike, replied, "We are determined to render what fidelity to your salt demands of us. We have been favoured with many kinds of gift and grace by you. We now ask for nothing but a chance of sacrificing our lives for you."

At 'Alivardi's invitation that they should confirm [52b] their promise of firm adherence by oaths, a copy of the *Qurān* was produced and all the chiefs swore on it to join him. Then 'Alivardi added, "I am your debtor, and I owe you the arrears of your pay. I shall not fail to pay it up in full, and as you are not hesitating to risk your lives for me, I too shall not fail to give you money. But I expect of you to take your pay from me slowly (—by instalments) and gently." All the groups of soldiers agreed and became of one mind and determined to follow him.

'Alivardi then made great efforts to pay the dues of the soldiers. As he had not enough money in his Treasury to suffice for meeting their claims, he took a vast sum by way of loan from Shahāmat Jang, from his daughter (the wife of Shahāmat Jang), and Jagat Seth and some of the bankers and nobles, and distributed pay to the soldiers. But still much of their dues remained unpaid, when the Maratha cavalry arrived near Murshidabad.

The Nawab became puzzled in mind whether to fight the Marathas, who do not stay at one place and whose tactics are to fight running battles, or to go to Patna. At last he wisely decided on the latter course, and directed the [53a] attack on the Marathas from his station at Āmāniganj. Till the preparation for the march to Patna and the collection of war materials were completed, he stayed at the above place. Sending the camp (*āsbāb*) of Saulat Jang to Bhagwān-

golā to block the path of the Marathas from that place to the city (Murshidabad) and keep the road for the coming of grain open, so that there might be no scarcity in the capital,—he told the residents of Murshidabad, "It is incumbent on me to go to Patna and fight the Afghans. I am starting from this place and the Marathas are spread around the city. It is beyond my power to expel them. Therefore, let every one of you go out to any place of safety that he likes." So, all the high and low people of Murshidabad, went to various places of safety on the further side of the Ganges. Those who were unable to migrate remained in their own houses, relying on God.

'Alivardi, after he had completed the preparations for the campaign and won the hearts of his troops by gifts of money, started for Patna at the beginning of the month of Rab'i-ul-āwwal. (began 19th Feb. 1748) with 15 to 16 thousand cavalry and nearly twenty thousand foot musketeers (*barq-āndāz*), and from Āmāniganj went to Jhapāidah, three miles [536] outside Murshidabad, on the road to Patna. He left Nawāzish Md. Khan Shahāmat Jang and 'Atāullah Khan Sābit Jang in Murshidabad with four or five thousand cavalry, and probably at the time of his starting or a little before it (which the author does not remember exactly), at the intercession of Shahāmat Jang, he restored Mir Md. J'afar Khan to the Bakhshiship, *vice* Nurullah Beg Khan, as he had held that post for many years and the soldiers liked him. As the Marathas were around the city and it was apprehended that as soon as 'Alivardi would set out on his march they would encircle his army from a distance all the way to Patna and thus prevent provisions from reaching his camp, the Nawāb ordered the chief grain-dealers of the camp and others who had the means, to convey grain and other food stuffs by boat (to his moving camp.)

In short, after transacting the necessary business, 'Alivardi set out from Jhapāidah. The Marathas, after he had started, left the familiar road, withdrew their hands from Murshidabad, and went towards Patna by the jungle route. Saif Khan, the faujdar of Purniā, sent his jama'dār Shaikh Din Muhammad, with 1,500 horse, to assist the Nawāb, but himself kept back on the plea of illness.

[54a] When the army was passing through this stage, Dost Beg Bakhshi, a jama'dār of the Nawāb, caught and brought to him a man on whom letters from 'Atāullah Khan to Shamsheer Khan and Sardār Khan were found, in which he professed his friendship for them and encouraged them to fight. When our army reached Bhāgalpur, the Maratha troops issued from the jungle, laid hands on the rear of the camp at the *nālā* of Champanagar, and then fled away. When our

army reached Mungir, Sundar Singh the zamindār of Tikāri and Kāmgar Khan the zamindār of Bihār etc. (Narhat) waited on the Nawāb with their contingents. At this time, too, that sage and saint Mir Muhammad 'Alī, Khādim Husain Khan, and Ismail Khan had the honour of interviewing the Nawāb.

Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan with the forty to fifty thousand men that they had assembled, set from J'afar Khan's garden towards the village of Bārhi. 'Alivardi after a few days' halt at Mungir, resumed his march. In the meantime [546] Mir Habibullah Khan with Jānoji Bhonslé and the Maratha army arrived near Patna and informed the Afghans of their coming. Shamshir Khan and Sardār Khan, who had first urged them to make this move, went to the Maratha camp to meet them. Mir Habibullah who had really a turbulent temperament and had left nothing undone in advising the enemy about Bengal and ruining that country, but fortune had not (hitherto) helped him, now conferred robes of honour on Shamshir Khan and Sardār Khan, gave them the subahdāri of Bihar on condition of entering the service (of Jānoji?), and sent them back.

Next day Shamshir Kh. called to his camp Habibullah Kh., Mirzā Md. Sālih, Mohan Singh and others by an invitation to dinner, and after the feast seated them in the tent which had been pitched for their rest and sleep, and himself went away to his own tent. He sent a party of Afghans to stand as guard round the tent of Mir Habib, and when Mir Habib wanted to go back to his own camp, they were to prevent him and tell him, "We have undertaken this business, killed Zainuddin Ahmad, and assembled forty or fifty thousand troops in readiness to fight Mahābat Jang, relying on [55a] your word and promise. The pay of our army amounts to thirty or forty lakhs of rupees. You can go away only after providing this money."

When Mirzā Muhammad Sālih heard of it, he formed a plan for rescue; he instructed some Maratha horsemen to go outside the camp and thence gallop into the camp of Shamshir Kh. shouting "Mahābat Jang has come," and then arrive near him in the same state of agitation. They acted accordingly. Habibullah Kh. and others in perplexity wanted to go to their own troops, when Shamshir Kh. and Sardār Kh. arrived and made their demand for money. Habibullah replied that as Mahābat Jang was coming, delay would ruin them; so he should go back to his own camp and arrange for the money; at that time it was proper for Shamshir and his party to prepare for fighting, as the enemy were at hand. In short, after much discussion, Mir Habib, after giving a banker as his security for the payment of the two lakhs of rupees still unpaid which he had promised at the

beginning, released himself from this dangerous whirlpool through the trick of Mirzā Md. Sālih.

Next day the two armies came in sight of each other, [55*b*] with a distance of only three or four *kos* between them. That night, 'Alivardi leaving his own tent passed the whole night in watchfulness near the *jinsi* artillery. When the sun rose, he drew up his ranks at Rāni Sarāi, two *kos* west of Barh; Bahādur 'Alī Kh. with the *jinsi* artillery formed his van; Haidar 'Alī Kh. with the *dasti* artillery, and Raham Kh., Mir' Md. Kazim Kh., and Dost Md. Kh. were posted behind these. On the right hand side, where the Ganges lay, he ordered Faqir-ullah Beg Kh., Nurullah Beg Kh. and Shaikh Jahān Yār to wait. On the left side, which faced the Maratha army, he posted Saulat Jang, Md. Ala Yār Beg Kh., Md. Iraj Kh., Rājā Sundar Singh, Kāmgar Kh. and some other sardārs; in the rear was posted Shaikh Md. Din with some jama'dārs. He himself was in the centre of his army.

Shamshir Kh. and Sardār Kh. also marshalling their [56*a*] troops hastened to the fight. An exchange of artillery fire began. Victory having been by the grace of God allotted to the Nawab's army, at the beginning a cannon-ball carried off the head of Sardār Kh. On the death of Sardār Kh. who commanded half of that army and than whom there was no better captain under Shamshir Kh., a great confusion befell the enemy, and some thousands of Sardār Kh.'s followers dispersed, and the rest of the army of Shamshir Kh. were filled with despair on seeing the omens of victory on 'Alivardi's side.

At this time the Marathas advanced towards the rear (i.e., baggage) of our army. Sirājuddaula was mounted on an elephant next to 'Alivardi's, and he suggested to the Nawāb: "The enemy have made the attack, it is necessary to take measures against them". 'Alivardi in high anger replied, "The enemy hostile to me are those (Afghans) who are standing in front of me. I have no fear of the Marathas, and after beating the Afghans I shall by God's help defeat the Marathas also". Without turning his attention to that side, he sent orders to Shaikh Jahān Yār and Faqirullah Beg, in the right wing, that the time of waiting was over and they should spur their horses and charge the enemy.

Just then a trooper came from Raham Kh. the leader [56*b*] of the vanguard and reported, that it was advisable to advance to the attack, and therefore he was going to charge, and begged 'Alivardi to co-operate. 'Alivardi repeatedly urged Faqirullah Beg Kh. and Shaikh Jahān Yār to charge, but as the order had no effect, he drove his own elephant with the few soldiers present round him to the aid of Raham Kh. and Haidar 'Alī Kh. Just then the happy news

arrived of Shamshir Kh. having been slain. It happened in this way:—After Sardār Khān had been killed, a great disorder and dispersion befell the Afghan army, and Shamshir Kh., came down from his elephant and (fought) on foot with a few Afghans. Habib Beg Khan came up with him and after a fight slew him with the sword. Murād Sher Khan had fallen down on his elephant half dead from a musket shot; Kāzīm 'Alī Khan drove his horse up to him and cut off his head. The heads of the two enemy generals were brought and flung down before 'Alivardi's elephant.

'Alivardi prostrated himself in giving thanks to God for such a victory and ordered the band to play joyous music. [57a] The Marathas who were standing on the left side on seeing this state of things, took to flight. 'Alivardi with the greatest gentleness and care went to the enemy's camp and pitched his own tent there. His daughter, the widow of Zainuddin Āhmad Kh., who was a captive with the Afghans, came out with her children and met him. Both sides praised God for His mercy. The public of the city, high and low, after escaping from ruin, came and kissed the carpet of his audience chamber.

After one or two days of halting, 'Alivardi marched to Patna city. After again rendering thanks to God, he sent presents and money to the Sayyids, Mumins, Faqirs, and needy people of Patna, and despatched some trusty people to confiscate the property of the Afghans of Darbhanga. As for the families of the Afghans who had sought refuge with the zamindār of Betiā, that zamindār wrote to the [57b] Nawāb that as they had taken sanctuary with him, he would pay 'Alivardi three lakhs of rupees as *nazar* for releasing them. The Nawāb declined and sent a party of his officers to bring them. When they arrived near the city, he ordered them to be placed in *Chaupālā raths* and *garhis* with every care and honour and brought to the city by the western gate, and made to alight at a suitable place near his own quarters. It was done. Though the Afghans had done unspeakable dishonour to the wife of Zainuddin Āhmad Kh., in spite of their having eaten his salt for many years, 'Alivardi treated the captive women of the Afghan rebels with every kindness and honour and gave them more than their necessary articles. He most stringently ordered Sirājuddaulah, whom he loved like a son and than whom none was dearer to him, to give previous intimation when he came to visit 'Alivardi in the palace, because the Afghan women were in *parda* there. [58a] When the dishes and fruits that he liked were brought to him, he first sent a portion of them to the Afghan prisoners; he never spoke of them without adding the word *Bibi* to their names.

After a time he gave them many kinds of favours and gifts and sent them away where they wanted to go.

At this time he wrote to Shahāmat Jang informing him of the victory and urging him to send *nazar* and *sadqāt*, with an order to send to Mir Habib his wife and children who were still in Murshidabad, after mounting them on good conveyances and giving them more money than they asked for for their journey, in charge of some trusty men of his own.

At this time news arrived of the death of the Emperor Muhammad Shāh and the succession of his son Āhmad Shāh . . . 'Alivardi did what lay in his power to apply the healing balm to the hearts of the inhabitant of Patna which had been wounded by the oppression of the Afghans.

As 'Alivardi was very fond of hunting, and at first after his victory the rumour arose and even the promise was made that the governorship of Bihār would be given to Saulat Jang, he left that prince as his deputy in Patna and went to the further bank of the Ganges on hunt. Sirāj-ud-daulah, [586] who was in the city, was displeased at the deputy-governorship being given to Saulat Jang; so he began to do things quite improper for him. This was the beginning of his domination, assertion of power, and improper acts.

After travelling and hunting, 'Alivardi returned to Patna at the end of Rajab (ended on 15th July, 1748.) Saulat Jang, in the expectation of the subahdārī of Bihār had made many of the leading men of the city, such as Mahdi Nisār Kh., the sons of Hedāyet 'Ali Kh. (including the historian Ghulām Husain), Khādīm Husain Kh., Izzat 'Ali Kh., and others, his partisans and increased much of (his) expenditure. But the wife of 'Alivardi began to think that if Saulat Jang was made subahdār of Bihār, he would after the death of 'Alivardi prove the greatest enemy of her daughter's son Sirājuddaulah, because Bihār is one of the chief subahs and troops could not pass from it to Bengal without the consent of the governor of Patna, and Shahāmat Jang was a man of no capacity and wanting in the power of governing and knowledge of the world (*duniyādārī*). So she decided to do her best in order to secure the deputy governorship of Bihār for one of her own partisans, and accordingly induced 'Alivardi by various expressions of dislike, to believe in the worthlessness of Saulat Jang and the excellence of her own plan. And she tutored Sirājuddaulah to declare to 'Alivardi in [59a] the presence of all that if the subah of Bihār were given to Saulat Jang, he would destroy himself. Such alarm was created in 'Alivardi's mind that he resiled from his desicion.

Saulat Jang, on learning of this affair, which may be said to be a cause of his own humiliation, in anger wanted to go away to the capital

of Delhi; for some days he stopped attending the Nawāb's darbar. 'Alivardi himself visited Saulat Jang at his house and gave an increment to his allowances and by his gentleness consoled his mind. As the rainy season was near he decided to stay there for regulating the administration of that province and summoning the wife of Sirāj-uddaulah from Murshidabad in charge of Rājā Janaki Rām, the diwān of his household,—with the object of giving him the deputy governorship of Bihār. After their arrival, he conferred the *khil'at* for the subahdāri of Bihār on Sirājuddaulah and the deputyship of that post on Rājā Jānaki Rām, with *naubat* and a fringed *pālki*; then for soothing the mind of Saulat Jang, he sent Jānaki with Sadar-ul-Haq^o Kh. to that prince to make obeisance for the conferment of this office (deputy governorship of Bihār.) Though Saulat Jang was extremely displeased at heart, he showed outward kindness and gave him the betel leaf of *conge*. [59*b*]

XXI

When the rainy season ended, 'Alivardi, leaving Rājā Jānaki Rām as deputy governor, and taking Sirājuddaulah and Saulat Jang with himself, set out for Murshidabad at the end of Ziq'ada (c. 6 Nov. 1748). Mischief-makers had previously planted in 'Alivardi's mind the idea that 'Atāullah Kh. was hostile and intended harm to him, and this idea was now confirmed. So, he sent a letter to Shahāmat Jang ordering him, immediately on the receipt of this *parwāna* to expel 'Atāullah Kh., from Bengal, without doing any kind of injury or dishonour to him, so that he might not be in the city when the Nawāb arrived there. 'Atāullah saw no help but to withdraw his heart from the command and pleasures of Bengal; so, with his wives and children and all his property—which was said to amount to nearly eight lakhs of rupees in cash, and 60 or 70 elephants, he came out of Murshidabad, and proceeding along the Ganges, halted near Mālda, at the mansion of Mir Ziā-ullah, situated in Mohanpur, to make the necessary preparations of his journey. [60*a*.]

'Alivardi performed the 'Id-uz-Zuha prayer (20 Nov.) at Rāj-mahal, and continued his journey to Murshidabad by boat. In the middle of that month (25 Nov. 1748) he alighted from his boat at Bhagwāngolā, where Shahāmat Jang, Husain Quli Khān and all the people high and low of the city advanced to welcome him. From this place, 'Alivardi mounted on an elephant reached Murshidabad by the land route (30 Nov. 1748.) In thanks-giving for this great victory he, a second time, distributed aims to the Sayyids and mendicants, and urged (them) greatly to abase themselves before the Lord

of Honours. This time many great men of Patna, such as Mir Md. 'Ali, Dāud 'Ali Kh., 'Ali Ibrāhim Kh., Naqī Qulī Kh., and Hāji Muhammad Kh., came to Bengal with 'Alivardi, and Mahdī Nisār Kh. the sons of Hedāyet 'Ali Kh. [60b], Khādim Husain Kh., Izzat 'Ali Kh., Din Md. Kh., Maulavi Yahiya, Mufti Ziaullah, and some other men came in the company of Saulat Jang. As Saulat Jang was displeased at not getting the governorship of Bihār, and also not well disposed towards his elder brother Shahāmat Jang, besides seeing the power and influence of Sirājuddaulah increase daily,—he disliked living in Murshidabad, but encamped at Bhagwāngolā. After staying there for nearly two months, at last at the strong urging of his uncle and brother, he left Bhagwāngolā and took up his residence in the mansion built by himself on the further side of the Bhāgirathi, opposite Murshidabad.

XXII

At this time news came of the death of Saif Kh., the faujdār of Purniā.

Saif Khān, the son of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Āmir Kh. of 'Ālamgir's reign, who had held the faujdāri of Purniā for more than thirty years, died. His eldest son Fakhruddin Husain Kh. was known to 'Alivardi to be incapable of governing; so, that the province would have been ruined if given [61a] to him. Saulat Jang held no high office in Bengal, but he was praised for his capacity to rule and carefulness; 'Alivardi therefore invested him in the robes of faujdār of Purniā, giving him a jewelled *sarpech*, a jewelled *jigha*, a gem-handled sword and an elephant with its housing (*talāyer*). His faujdāri of Hugli was given to Sirājuddaulah.

Saulat Jang sent Khādim Husain Kh. as his agent¹ before himself, and himself started for Purniā at the end of Rabi'-ul-āwwal (March 1749.) A party of Patna notables who had been comrades of his brother Haibat Jang—such as Mahdī Nisār Kh., Āqā 'Abdul 'Azim, the sons of Hedāyet 'Ali Kh., 'Izzat 'Ali Kh. and others—went with him. Fakhruddin Husain Kh. knowing himself powerless, wrote to say that he was obedient. 'Alivardi replied, "Be assured in your mind about me, remain there, and come and see me; God willing, your desires [61b] will be gratified." Fakhruddin Husain came to Murshidabad and had audience of the Nawāb. At first he was treated with every honour and favour. After a time, the Nawāb

¹ *Altābi* or *Altāi* in the two Mss. *Siyar* (i.174) which agrees word for word with this book, reads *abtāli*. The Chaghtai-Turki word *ālī* means rider. (Sulaiman Efendi, p. 17.) *Atāliq* or guardian (of a young prince) is unlikely.

finding signs of disloyalty and enmity in his acts and speeches, deemed it unsafe to leave so much money and materials in the hands of such a man, attached all his property, assigned a place for his residence, granted him enough allowance to live in comfort, and posted a party of troops to guard him. The remainder of his history will be narrated in its proper place.

A little about the history of Jānoji the son of Raghu Bhonslé: After the slaying of Shamsheer Kh., he fled away broken from the battle-field and took the road to Bengal. On the way, receiving news of the death of his brother, he [62a] sent Mir Habib with some thousands of Marathas and Afghans to Medinipur and Katak, and himself went to the Deccan. After he had arrived there, Raghu sent his younger brother Sābāji with a Maratha force to Habibullah Kh.

Other incidents of this year: During the Nawāb's stay in Patna, Rāi-i-rāiān Chin Rāy, the Diwan of Khalsa, who was superior to his equals in integrity, died of old age; and his *peshkā*r Bhairo Dat used to discharge the duties of the diwān, without being appointed to that post. Nearly one year having passed in this way, 'Alivardi conferred on him the robe of substantive diwān and the title of Rāi-i-rāiān.

XXIII

'Alivardi marches towards Medinipur for extirpating the Marathas. They are expelled. He captures the fort of Katak; and other events which happened during this expedition.—

After the suppression of Shamsheer Kh. the entire province of Bihār was cleansed of the existence of that ungrateful tribe, and the province of Bengal, too, was [62b] enjoying peace and happiness from the just and kindly rule of 'Alivardi. Only in the subah of Katak and Medinipur, Mr. Habib was plundering with a force of Marathas and Afghans. 'Alivardi knowing it to be his duty to exterminate this doomed group, set out with his army early in the month of Rabi'-us-sāni, year 1162 A.H. (c. 13 March 1749) to drive the enemy out. For some days he halted at Katwa to assemble his army, and then started for Bardwān. When he arrived near Bardwān, he was waited upon by Haidar 'Ali Kh., the dārogha of artillery, who had by his order encamped at Bardwān for some months before this, with seven or eight thousand *barqāndāz* *sawār* and about 2,000 cavalry, to block the path if by chance the Marathas made an attempt to devastate the country of Bardwān and enter Bengal.

After some days' halt, when he wished to march to Medinipur, the officers of the artillery and some of the *sair* (transit duty) departments, who were in the contingent of Haidar 'Ali Kh. raised a

clamour for their arrears of [63a] pay and refused to march. The Nawāb sent my father (Ghulām 'Alī Kh.,—see *Siyar-ul-mut.*, ii, 175) with Mirzā Hakim Beg to conciliate them, but their words had no effect. Next day 'Alivardi himself went to the tent of Haider 'Alī Kh. for persuading these men. He spoke very kindly to them and promised to discharge their dues very quickly, a little in cash (immediately) and the rest by assignment on Shahāmat Jang payable in a few days. But it had no effect; those violent men adhered to their attitude most disrespectfully. The chief of the *sair* officers, Mir Fazl 'Alī, too, became the partner of these misguided men. According to a current tradition, they had a wicked intention (to murder 'Alivardi).

'Alivardi dismissed these disloyal people and sent them to Murshidabad with an order on Shahāmat Jang to pay their entire dues of salary. Then with the five or six thousand troopers that he had with him, remembering the Qurānī verse—"The guidance of God is enough, and there is no helper except God," he set his face towards repelling the enemy. When after some marches he arrived near Medinipur, [63b] Mir Habib with the party of Marathas who were in cantonment in Medinipur, after destroying their houses and property according to the Qurānīc verse, "There is no help except from God," took to flight. The Nawāb passing by the inhabited portion of Medinipur, and crossing the river Kansāi, set up his standard (encamped.) Spies brought him the news that the Maratha troops were lying scattered in many places of the jungle of Medinipur. He ordered Mir Md. Kāzīm Kh., Dost Md. Kh. and other officers to go in pursuit of the fugitives and crush them. They came up with the enemy, after traversing a long distance, fought them and gained the victory; the vanquished fled towards Katak.

'Alivardi continued his advance, and after some marches halted at the port of Bālesar. Here he learnt for certain that Mir Habib and Sābāji, seeing themselves powerless to fight, had dispersed in the jungle country of Orissā with the Maratha and Afghan soldiers that [64a] accompanied them. 'Alivardi, marching continually passed through Bhadrak and Jājpur, and halted at Barwa from which place Katak is about 15 *kos* distant.

Here he received letters from Sayyid Nur, Sarāndāz Kh., and Dharamdās Hazāri, (artillery captain) who held the fort of Bārabati, stating—"We are ready to submit to you. When your army arrives here, we shall open the gates of the fort to your officers and wait on you." 'Alivardi had already sent Mir Md. J'afar Kh., Faqirullah Kh., Dost Md. Kh. and other officers with all the men of the *sair* (transit duties) towards the jungle country where Mir Habib and

others of the enemy were living ; so, on receiving the letters of Sarāndāz Kh. and others, he with the few men that he had with him—whose number did not reach even two thousand horsemen, set out that very night for capturing the fort of Bārabāti. Marching the whole of that night and half the next day, without a halt, and crossing the river Mahānadi, which flows at the foot of the Bārabāti fort, he arrived within sight of that fort. On account of the ceaseless marching for 18 hours, out of the two or three thousand troopers who had started with him only three hundred men had kept up with him at the time [64b] of his arrival at the foot of this fort. If the garrison had attacked him, his retinue, tired with their long march, would have been unable to resist them. But by the grace of God and the strength of his fortune, terror had been struck in the hearts of the people of the fort, and they had no recourse except to submit to him. The heat of the sun, in addition to the lack of tents—owing to not one of the porters having arrived during this long march, was so oppressive as to suggest the plain of the Day of Resurrection.

At the end of that day, Sayyid Nur and Dharamdās, after interviewing the Nawāb, were sent back on promising to come the next morning with Sarāndāz Kh. to meet the Nawāb and surrender the fort to him. As these men had always in alliance with his enemies never hesitated in the least to cause disturbance and injury, and had always supported the infidels, 'Alivardi regarded their profession of obedience as a promise made in terror and decided as a matter of political necessity to cut the thread of life of such mischief-makers ; he ordered the party of his personal attendants to kill them with their swords when they would arrive (to interview him) next morning.

Next morning, 'Alivardi sat in a small tent, used in the course of riding, called a *pāl* ; Sirājuddaulah was seated outside the courtyard of this tent, beyond the *qanāt* (tent walls) with a party of heroes. He gave orders for admitting Sayyid Nur and Sarāndāz Kh. At this time Dharamdās and Sayyid Nur having first come to the audience, were told to sit down in the Nawab's own *darbār*. 'Alivardi addressed to them every kind of gracious and friendly words, when the approach of Sarāndāz Kh. was reported, and the latter arrived with a few servants near the courtyard (*jilau-khānah*.) As he tried to descend from his mount and enter on foot, Sirājuddaulah who was waiting there for slaying him, gave the order to kill him. The soldiers who were present there ready for this work, at once killed him.

Sarāndāz Kh. without yielding to despair, fought in self-defence as long as he could. Sayyid Nur and Dharamdās, [65b] who were

in the Nawāb's presence, became distracted and shaken on hearing of this calamity, but the soldiers present near them made both of them prisoners and handed them over to Kishwar Khān as ordered by 'Alivardi.

The garrison of the fort and the followers of Sarāndāz Kh. and Dharamdās, on hearing of it, closed the gates of the fort and made ready for fighting. 'Alivardi, considering it inexpedient for himself to stay at the foot of the fort, as it was not so very necessary, ordered Mir Md. J'afar Kh., Faqirullah Beg Kh., Rājā Durlabh Rām and others who had just then returned to his presence from the pursuit of Mir Habib, as directed by him,—to besiege the fort, and himself entered the palace in Katak. For fifteen days the two sides fought together. At last the garrison felt themselves unable to resist the Nawāb's troops as their ammunitions were exhausted; they proposed through the mediation of Mir Md. J'afar Kh. and Rājā Durlabh Rām to surrender the fort, if they were assured of safety . . . 'Alivardi agreed . . . [66a] Next day the besieged opened the gates of the fort to the Nawāb's officers and themselves removed to the neighbourhood of Mir Md. J'afar Kh., 'Umar Kh., and Rājā Durlabh Rām. 'Alivardi went to see the fort of Bārabāti (c. 2 June 1749).

XXIV

Katak and Bārabāti described.—

The plot of land on which the above-named fort and the inhabited portion of the city are situated, is enclosed by two rivers named the Mahānadi and the Katjhuri. On one side a place which overlooks the two rivers, has been strengthened with stone revetments called *posta*. Both these streams can be forded on foot in all seasons except the rains, but during the monsoons the breadth of the Mahānadi is nearly two *kos*, and that of the Katjhuri about half of that. The fort of Bārabāti is situated on the bank of the Mahānadi; its circuit wall is about three *kos*, which has been constructed with stones and burnt bricks. A ditch with a *pucca* foundation, deep and full of water, surrounds it. The houses of the city of Katak border the river Katjhuri. A distance of nearly two *kos* separates the habitations of the city from the fort.

As for many years past, owing to the passing of armies and the domination of the Marathas, the city of Katak had [66b] not enjoyed a prosperous life (*ābādī*), we did not see any splendour in it. But the houses of the rulers, which are situated on the Katjhuri, have a very pleasant look (*ruh*) and spaciousness. But most of the habita-

tions are on the bank of this river and for that reason hold superiority over the rest of the city, because the houses on the Katjhuri that stand on the *pucca* embankment, (about which a little has been said before) are very lofty. The revetment is ten yards in height and half the same in width, and more or less (of the houses) have been built on it. Under most of the houses the water of the stream Katjhuri flows very clear and pure.

On the further side of the river, according to the difference of places, for a distance of two to four or five *kos*, there is a spacious and pleasant-looking plain, and close to it a jungle of high trees, very beautiful and clean ; and at the end of the forest is the beginning of the skirt of the heaven-touching mountain (*dāman-i-jabāl*.) People who live in the houses on the bank of the Katjhuri command a view of all these three things.

XXV

When the rainy season approached, during it the horses and transport cattle of the army would be confined within the piece of ground on which the houses of the city of Katak stand ; and if during the flood in the rivers the enemy in concert with the zamindārs of the country invested the place, it would be impossible for grain and other necessities to reach the city of Katak, and equally so to go to Bengal because during that season every stage of the [67a] route had many *nālās* and deep streams difficult to cross. Therefore 'Alivardi, whose sagacious mind anticipated future things in the present time, did not deem it wise to prolong his stay here, but regarded what had been already done as gain enough,—he appointed Shaikh 'Abdus Subhān as deputy governor of Orissā, and set out on return to Bengal.

In fact, the hardships and ruin that he had foreseen took place in an extreme form. At this time when the Sun was in the sign of the Gemini, which with a difference of a few days corresponded to the Hindi month of *Jaith*, it rained so heavily and without intermission that not a day or night passed when the showers ceased for a moment, and the streams which had been very shallow when our army had passed them (on the outward journey) were now turned into raging floods difficult to cross. For example, the stream of Barwa, Bhadrak and Jājpur, whose water was flowing with great violence but was only waist-deep or chest-deep, was crossed by us with extreme difficulty. At the other *nālās* many men and beasts perished. At the *nālā* of Tri-mohāni, situated close to Medinipur, in spite of its narrow breadth, because the water was flowing most [67b] violently and

nothing of the nature of boats could be found, most of the property and men crossed by the device of tying inverted pots to sticks or air-inflated water-skins (*mashak*), or rafts made by tying banana trees close together. Horses could cross only by swimming, because it was difficult to ferry them over in the above way; hence hundreds of them perished. At one ferry where this author was an eye-witness, seventeen horses were drowned; from this you can imagine what happened at the other crossing places. The river Kansāi, close to Medinipur, was in violent flood and not more than three or four boats could be procured for crossing it, and the transport of the entire camp depended on these, so that the crossing was effected with extreme difficulty. It would take long to describe in full the hardships endured during this journey on account of the mud on the roads and the flooded rivers.

Shaikh 'Abdus Subhān Khān's history.—

This Shaikh was a poor soldier in the contingent of Rājā Durlabh Rām, where nobody knew his name. When it became necessary for 'Alivardi to return quickly from Katak for [68a] the reason stated before, on account of the Marathas numbering seven to eight thousand troopers being near, after the reinforcements had arrived from Bengal, nobody agreed to accept (the deputy subahdāri of Orissā). Shaikh 'Abdus Subhān agreed to take this dangerous post, the eminence of which had never entered his imagination,—on the principle, "If I can be king for even a twinkle, it is a gain."

When the Nawāb's army passed from the neighborhood of Katak, Mir Habib who was with the Maratha troops ^{came} one or two days' march in the jungles near about, marched to recover the city and capture Shaikh 'Abdus Subhān. The Shaikh, in spite of his small force most heroically faced the vastly superior enemy force, and after fighting to the utmost of his power and receiving repeated wounds, in one of which a sword cut disabled his arm, he fell down and was made prisoner by the enemy. The Nawāb learnt of this calamity when near Bālesar (6 June 1749). The time was not [68b] suitable for avenging it, and so he put the matter off to the next year.

Towards the end of Jamādi-us-sāni (ended 5 June 1749) he reached Katwa, and crossed the river by a bridge of boats constructed before his arrival, and at the beginning of Rajab, he alighted in the palace of Moti Jhil, the construction of which had just begun. Shahāmat Jang, Husain Quli Kh. and others were honoured with his audience and received favours.

In this year Rāi-i-Rāiān Chin Rāy, the Diwān of Khālśa, a most honest officer, died. His *peshkar* Bhairo Dat, who was well versed in the diwani business, was given his post and title of

Rai-i-raian,¹ Haidar 'Ali Kh. who (as narrated before) had come away from Bardwān to Murshidabad with all the officers (of the artillery), was now attacked by an eye disease and became blind. Sirājuddaulah by his intercession secured the pardon of the officers of the artillery; and the headship of the artillery was conferred on Sirājuddaulah and the deputyship of the post was given to Mir Ziaullah Khān, who had for a time been a follower of 'Ataullah Kh. Ziaullah [69a] was also appointed Dārogha of the *dasli topkhānah*.

About this time Khādim Husain Kh. having quarrelled with Saulat Jang, came away to Murshidabad. A little later, Mahdi Nisār Kh., the sons of Hedāyet 'Ali Kh., Ghulām Murtaza Kh. (the son of Murtazavi Kh.) left Saulat Jang in displeasure and came to Murshidabad. Sirājuddaulah, as he bore enmity to his uncle (Saulat Jang) and as these men had formerly been his father's servants, conciliated all of them and made them his comrades; he showed more favour to Mahdi Nisār Khān than to the others, and daily increased his rank.

XXVI

Mir Habib with a force of Marathas and Afghans, came to invade Medinipur. Regarding it as his duty to extirpate them, 'Alivardi at the end of Muharram 1163 (near the end of Dec. 1749) set out with his army. But he first went out [69b] to hunt,—which is a device of kings for learning the condition of their subjects, rich and poor, and the alarmed, the oppressed, and the weak. (*Verses*)

The hardship of hunting is necessary for kings,

Because they capture hearts along with the game.

He went towards Meherpur, which lies east and south of Murshidabad. There were so many deer in that district that every day hundreds of them were killed. Drove of deer of the wilderness, being alarmed and perplexed at being encircled by the army, rushed into the camp and the camp-followers knocked them down with the sticks in their hands.

After having hunted, 'Alivardi marched to Katwa and halted. Then assembling his troops he went to Bardwān. Thence he arrived near Medinipur. The enemy, on hearing of the approach of our army, in their customary manner fled to the wilderness, and our troops after reaching Medinipur, encamped on the bank of the Kansāi river. The Nawāb wished [70a] to settle the administration of that tract this time in such a way that the enemy would not again think

¹ These two sentences are repeated from f. 62a of the ms.

of seizing it, nor have the power to come to this country. So, he ordered cantonments to be made and decided to stay there himself, and appointed 'Alī Qulī Kh. Isfahānī the *bakhshi* of Sirājuddaulah as the faujdār of Medinipur.

Mir Habib and others, who were roving near Bālesar, had not sufficient strength to make it necessary for the Nawāb to go out against them in person; therefore he sent Sirājuddaulah with a strong force to that side to expel them. Sirājuddaulah reached the district of Bālesar and the ferry on the river Son-rekhā known as Rājghāt. The enemy being unable to fight took to flight from the port of Bālesar to the jungles. Sirājuddaulah without having to use his arms, entered Bālesar, and halted there, as he had no orders to go further. As the Nawāb loved him so much that he could not live for a moment apart from him, he was unable to control himself but only a few days after the departure of Sirājuddaulah, himself set out from Medinipur towards Bālesar, and recalled Sirāj [70b] to his side. The two met together at Nārāyanganrh, from which place they returned to Medinipur together.

At this time Khwāja 'Abdul Hādī, who was one of the humbler jama'dārs of the Nawāb, reported through Mir Sayyid Md. Yesāwal and the mediation of the deputy *hājib* (chamberlain), "There is unlimited fraud and peculation in the Nawāb's army, and the clerks (*mulasaddis*) and jama'dārs have misappropriated vast amounts, so much so that a captain who has a hundred troopers on his pay-roll, actually keeps not even one-fourth of that number. I shall first inform you of the peculation in my *risāla*. If you order this humble slave to take a muster of the army, the Government would be saved lakhs of rupees. 'Alivardi, in accordance with the suggestion of the Khwāja, ordered the officers of the Bakhshi of *sair* and other (departments) that all of these officers (*'amla*) should present themselves before the Khwāja and give a muster of their troops.

At this a great tumult arose. Khwāja 'Abdul Hādī showing his sense of duty, did not overlook any captain, high or low, friend or stranger. It was found that one of the higher officers, who used to draw the pay of 1,700 troopers, presented only 80 troopers at his muster. From this fact the state [71a] of things in the entire army can be imagined; instead of a thousand only a hundred were left, and the Government was saved lakhs. In reward of this good service, the Khwāja was greatly favoured and daily promoted in dignity. Just then news arrived that the Maratha horse had come out of the jungle and turned towards Murshidabad. 'Alivardi, who found it necessary to destroy them and had not any confidence in the force posted in Murshidabad, started from Medinipur towards Murshidabad. When

he reached Bardwan, he learnt that the Maratha-Afghan army on hearing of the march of the Nawab, had turned aside from Murshidabad towards the western jungle country.

Fakhruddin Husain Kh., who was living in Murshidabad by order of the Nawab, neglected the defence of the city, and joined the Marathas on the day of their arrival near the city. As he had spent all his life in pleasure and comfort [71*b*] and never borne hardship or journey, he was unable to continue to travel with the Marathas with only a pony to ride on; so he went away to Delhi, and shortly after arriving there died of delirium.

At this time a relative of the zamindārs of the jungle country proposed to the Nawāb, "If you give me the command of the vanguard of your army, I shall suddenly attack the camp of the enemy when they are off their guard." 'Alivardi, relying on his word, made a forced march against the enemy. After two marches and spending a whole night in marching through the jungle, at dawn the Nawāb learnt that this zamindār who was going at the head of this army mounted on an elephant, had thrust a dagger into his own stomach. The Nawāb ordered the elephant to be brought to him for investigation. The man on coming to him, replied to his query thus, "As I had missed the path and was unable to guide the army to the enemy's camp (in the darkness of the night), I have done this deed in fear of your anger." He died in a short time.

'Alivardi had gone through the hardships of these few days of marching, and his spies could bring him no news of the exact location of the enemy's camp; so he found it expedient to return to Bardwān. He alighted in the Garden [72*a*] of Mānikchand, the powerful diwān of the zamindār of Bardwān, which was the best place in that town, till he could ascertain where the Marathas were roving.

At this time, Mir Md. J'afar Khan who was in Murshidabad under Shahāmat Jang, came away by order and waited on the Nawāb in this garden. The Nawāb censured him because on the arrival of the Marathas near Murshidabad the Khān had made no exertion against them, and his slackness and neglect were proved by the speculation and fraud in the army which the muster held by Khwāja 'Abdul Hādī had discovered; and he ordered him to remove Mirzā Ismail from the deputy bakhshigari and give that post, on his own behalf, to Khwāja 'Abdul Hādī. J'afar Kh. at first objected, but at last acted as ordered by the Nawāb.

After he had halted at Bardwan for some days, news arrived that the Marathas had issued from the jungles and [72*b*] turned to Medinipur, and 'Alivardi at once began his march to Medinipur.

Sirājuddaulah went away to Murshidabad. The cause of his

taking such a step was this: After Mahdi Nisār Khān and others had left Saulat Jang in disagreement they came to Murshidabad and joined Sirājuddaulah. That Khān, though endowed with many good qualities, had a passion for causing disturbances and trouble. When he became Sirājuddaulah's comrade, he spoke to him, "How long would you remain subject to the orders of your grand-father? Your rank is not lower than that of your uncles Shahāmat Jang and Saulat Jang, who have authority and troops under them. Hence, it is advisable for you to go (from here) to Murshidabad and thence to Patna, overthrow Jānaki Rām—who is no better than a beggarly Hindu,—in case he does not submit to you, and take possession of that province, so that you can have a name and a position."

When 'Alivardi arrived near Medinipur, Mir Habib and others, in their customary manner fled away without fighting [73*a*] and the Nawāb alighted at his old cantonments. As the rainy season approached and 'Alivardi was determined to suppress the Maratha evil this time, and 'Alī Qulī Khan who held the faujdāri of Medinipur begged to be excused from remaining in Medinipur on account of his being not strong enough to fight the Marathas,—the Nawāb ordered houses to be built for his own residence, summoned the ladies of the harem from Murshidabad, and commanded the army to go into cantonments. High and low in the force, worn out with their long campaigns, had been expecting to go to Murshidabad and there enjoy repose as the rainy season was at hand, and now on receiving this order, contrary to their hopes, they despaired of returning to Murshidabad, and every one, great and small, engaged in the work of house-building, and after [73*b*] constructing the houses took refuge in them.

XXVII

When some days had passed in this way, a most undreamt of thing happened. It happened in this way: The Nawab received a letter from Shahāmat Jang stating that Sirājuddaulah after displaying hurt feelings and displeasure, had started for Patna with Mahdi Nisār Khān and others, and that he had turned a deaf ear to all the prohibitions and reasoning of Shahāmat and even threatened to commit suicide if he pressed him further. Immediately on learning of this, the Nawāb, who loved Sirājuddaulah deeply, became disturbed in mind and perplexed and felt that it was impossible for him to stay in Medinipur. He satisfied Mir Md. J'afar Kh. and Rājā Durlabh Ram with many favours, ordered all his troops to remain in Medinipur, under the command of these two, and himself set out for Murshidabad with a small escort, on that very day. Though the rainy season had begun and

the roads were full of mud and the *nālās* were raging in flood, he marched from morning to sunset, and reached Murshidabad in four days covering eight days' marching-stages. After [74a] halting there one day only, he on the next day took the road to Patna, sending a most loving letter to Sirājuddaulah urging him to give up his mischievous intention. Sirāj received this letter near Bhāgalpur, and wrote in reply, "Your Highness, in spite of your profession of so much love for me, has been cherishing my enemies. Among them Husain Quli Khān, my enemy, has been raised by you to such high dignity and power and I have been so much lowered in his eyes that when I returned from Bardwān to Murshidabad, not a single man came out to welcome me in advance. You have made Shahāmat Jang your heir and Saulat Jang faujdār of Purnia. And my lot has been merely sweet words but no favour such as may give me power, rank and strength among my peers. I now warn you, do not come to me, or else your head will be in your skirt or my head under your elephant's [74b] feet."

'Alivardi on receiving this letter, felt extremely glad, and wrote in reply, "You are dearer to me than my life. All these unfounded desires and complaints that you have made are due to your lack of understanding and spirit. I cherish the desire of leaving the lordship of all this world to you, the light of my eyes." In this letter he inserted the following quatrain in his own hand:

The Ghāzi who charges in search of martyrdom,

Knows not that the martyr to Love is wiser than he :

On the Day of Judgment how will they stand, one to the other?

The one was slain by his enemy, the other by his lover.

Sirājuddaulah after arriving near Patna sent a message to Rājā Jānaki Rām to come out and interview him, if he wished for his own good, when he would be given favours, or else he should go away from Patna to any place that he liked. Jānaki Rām on receiving this message was utterly bewildered [75a] as to what should do to meet this crisis, for if he went away leaving Patna Sirājuddaulah's capture of the city would enable him to rise in violence and rebellion, then what excuse could Jānaki Rām make to 'Alivardi? If, on the other hand, he resisted and fighting ensued and by chance any injury reached Sirājuddaulah, he would undoubtedly expect his death sentence from the Nawāb who loved Siraj in an extreme degree.

At last Jānaki Rām decided on fighting, and shutting the gates of the fort and preparing for defending it, remained puzzled as to what he should do, not knowing how the will of God would manifest itself. But as his fortune was in the ascendant, the difficulty was easily resolved. Sirājuddaulah having arrived with the intention of

capturing the city of Patna along with Mahdi Nisār Kh., the root of this mischief, and some other inexperienced (associates) of that bad man, advanced for forcing the gates of the fort open. From this side the troops of Rājā Jānaki Rām opposed them, and fighting began. Mahdi Nisār Khān, the leader of this disturbance, with a body of ruffians [75*b*] that accompanied him and Sirājuddaulah entered the city by the small gate called *khirki*, and turned his face to the fort. Here a severe battle was fought, in which Mahdi Nisār Khān and some other men were slain.

On his being killed, Sirājuddaulah who was a coward at heart, in bewilderment and despair, turned his back to the field and hid himself in the house of one of the humblest artisans, and sent a man to give news of his own condition to Mirzā Mustafa Qulī Khan, the brother of Sirāj's father-in-law Iraj Khan, who was living in Patna in connection with certain duties appertaining to him. The Mirzā without delay went to Sirāj and brought him to his own house with every mark of respect.

Jānaki Rām on hearing of Sirājuddaulah being safe, went to Mirzā Mustafa Qulī's house, and thanked God for the new life that he (Jānaki Rām) had thus gained. At this time 'Alivardī having arrived at Ghiyāspur, better known as [76*a*] Bārḥ, on hearing of these occurrences, sent to Sirājuddaulah Nawāb Āsadullah Khān, who had accompanied him from Murshidabad, to conciliate him in every possible way, inform him that 'Alivardī had granted all his prayers and would treat him with love and favour, and thus induce him to come and meet his grandfather.

Āsadullah induced Sirāj to agree. On hearing of it, 'Alivardī was so delighted that he could not restrain himself but threw away all forms of dignity and majesty which used to be uppermost in his heart, and every moment did nothing but utter the name of Sirājuddaulah and inquire how far he had arrived. When the spies reported the approach of Sirājuddaulah, he ordered the screens before his tent to be removed so that his view might not be obstructed and he could see from far the cortege of Sirāj. As soon as his eyes fell on Sirājuddaulah's mount, he helplessly prostrated himself on the ground and thanked God. When at last Sirāj came before the tent, alighted from his mount, and proceeded [76*b*] on foot to kiss his grandfather's toes, the Nawāb clasped him to his breast and could not restrain his tears. He again gave thanks to God. Then marching in the company of Sirāj he came to Patna and lodged in the house built by Zainuddin Āhmad Khān overlooking the Ganges. As Sirājuddaulah was angry with Rājā Jānaki Rām on account of the audacity he had been compelled to show (to Sirāj) during the late fighting, 'Alivardī became his

intercessor, secured his pardon from Sirāj, and sent him to interview Sirāj, who, regarding him as a devoted servant of himself, in compliance with his grandfather's directions, sent him back with favours.

As there was no business in the province of Bihār which might detain 'Alivardi there and as he was very anxious about the Marathas who were living in the Katak and Bālesar country, and Mir Md. J'atar Kh. and Rājā Durlabh Rām who were in Medinipur felt alarmed in mind, the Nawāb decided to return.

He conferred the robe of authority (as deputy governor of Bihār) on Rājā Jānaki Rām, and set out for Murshidabad [77a] with Sirājuddaulah. At this time a shaking fever (ague) attacked him and reached an extreme. No great physician except Hakim Tājuddin was then in Patna. The latter attended the [78b] Nawāb and tendered such treatment as he judged suitable. The Nawāb journeyed speedily by boat. As the great doctor, Sayyid Hakim Hādī Khān knew fully about the constitution of 'Alivardi, an officer was sent by the Nawāb from the way to fetch him from Murshidabad. This doctor met him at Rājmahal, and undertook his treatment. 'Alivardi reached his palace in Murshidabad, with his severe illness raging. This great [79a] physician cured him in a short time. After recovery the Nawāb rewarded the doctor with a splendid *khi'at*, a sarpech, a jewelled *jigha*, an elephant with a *handa*, and Rs. 5,000 in cash, and so highly honoured him as to permit him to enter the palace mounted, and to go in his *pālki* to the place where the *pālki*s of Shahāmat Jang and Sirājuddaulah were allowed to go, near the steps¹ of the basement of the palace. Nobody, noble or commoner, minister or friend, was allowed to sit down above him (at the *darbār*.) Shahāmat Jang and Sirājuddaulah too gave him suitable presents. After the bath of recovery, the Nawāb sent *nazar* and *sadqāt* to the Sayyids, mendicants and needy people. As the rains that year had not yet ceased, he sent *parwānas* to Raja Durlabh Rām and Mir Md. J'afar Kh. giving them the happy news of his recovery, praising the doctor, telling them to stay firmly in their places, and informing them that after the rainy season the Nawāb himself would march there.

At this time Saulat Jang came from Purniā to see his uncle after his recovery. Nafisa Begam, the daughter of the [79b] late Shujā'uddaulah, who was greatly attached to Shahāmat Jang, and Shahāmat Jang too was extremely obedient to her—had adopted as her son, Aqā Bābā *alias* Shukrullah Khān, one of the sons of Sarfarāz Khān and loved him to distraction. She through Bibi Ghasiti, the wife of Shahāmat Jang proposed to Saulat Jang the marriage of his daughter

¹ *Zinā-i-pāyā wa saff*. *Saff* means the place where shoes are left before entering the hall of a *darbār*.

to Āqā Bābā. Saulat Jang after at first declining the proposal, at last agreed at the pressing request of Shahāmat Jang and his wife. After some time he took leave for Purniā. As this marriage could not take place without the presence of the members of the families of Sarfarāz and 'Alivardī, and it was difficult for such a large number of people to go to Purniā, it was settled that Saulat Jang should start the marriage preparations in Murshidabad, and when they were completed he would at the right time come there for performing the ceremony.

XXVIII

Peace made between [80a] 'Alivardī and the Marathas. 'Alāullah Khān Sābit Jang goes to Oudh and is slain along with Rājā Nawāl Rāi in battle with the Afghans.—

The troops placed under Mir Md. J'afar Khān and Rājā Durlabh Rām in Medinipur, were enough for the purpose of expelling the Maratha army from Bālesar and Katak. But for certain reasons, the soldiers and officers posted in Medinipur did not set their hearts on opposing the Marathas. One of the reasons was that the news of the severe illness of the Nawāb had spread in all directions in an exaggerated form (i.e., reporting his death) and the letters and despatches that were sent from Murshidabad to other places were ascribed to deception and outward show. So, it became necessary for 'Alivardī to go in person and fight the Marathas. In spite of his weakness due to illness, he in the year 1164 (Dec. 1750) marched with his army from Murshidabad towards Medinipur. Mir Md. J'afar Kh. and Rājā Durlabh Rām, on hearing of his march, came out of Medinipur to welcome the Nawāb on the way, and [80b] met him after he had passed Bardwān. On account of these two chiefs having withdrawn from Medinipur, besides the report of the severe illness of the Nawab, Mir Habib and the Maratha troops were emboldened to cause disturbances, and set out from their base for Medinipur. 'Alivardī marched towards Medinipur with the troops accompanying him and those that had joined him, to repel the Marathas. On the outskirts of that *qasba* (town) as usual the Deccani horse could not stand up against the blows of our soldiers and dispersed towards the jungle and hilly country on the west of Bengal. 'Alivardī set out for pursuing them in the jungle, as he was determined to drive these mischievous people out of Bengal. But the enemy knowing it beyond their power to oppose the Nawāb's army, dispersed as soon as we approached them. Our heroic soldiers, going in pursuit, gave them no opportunity of [81a] taking rest, till at last the enemy took the road to Katak through the jungle. The victorious Nawāb returned towards Murshidabad, and

putting off the task of expelling them from Katak to the next year, halted outside Katwa. (Feb. 1751).

As Mir Habib and the Maratha soldiers had undergone all kinds of hardship and loss for years together and had been always brought to death's door by the blows of the *ghāzis* of Islam, so that they had no sleep or rest, they wished to make peace if possible in any way. Because they could not totally withdraw their hands from Katak and other places and (could not) give up the desire for the profit from this country, and besides this, their total withdrawal from the kingdom of Bengal, etc., would lower Raghuji's prestige among his equals, therefore, they considered it proper to make submission to 'Alivardi on condition of some of their demands being granted.

In furtherance of this desire, Mir Habib sent some of his trusted men to Mir Md. J'afar Kh. who reported their proposals to 'Alivardi. Although the Nawāb out of his loftiness of spirit considered their demands hard to accept, yet he afterwards gave [81b] his consent to the making of peace for certain reasons,—the strongest of which was the repose of the people, because in this warfare of many years although the Nawāb's troops were always victorious and the Marathas were dispersed in a broken condition every time they came to this country, [they had secured a lodgement in Orissā and disturbed Bengal every year]; and secondly his severe illness and weakness of body which made him unable to bear the fatigue of a journey (he being then above seventy years of age), and the force of the saying [of Ali], "I recognise my God by the breaking of my resolution".

But in order that the public, high or low, might not attribute the peace to the weakness of the Nawāb's army, he instructed Mir Md. J'afar Khān to send some trusty men from his own side to Mir Habib for arranging the peace. Mir Md. J'afar sent Mir Hasan 'Ali and Mir 'Euz 'Ali to Mir Habib to settle the peace on the conditions stated before. Mir Habib, who had not dreamt of his proposal being accepted, very gladly [82a] agreed to be obedient to the Nawāb's wishes (*lit.* orders) and sent Mirzā Sālih from his side, with Mir 'Euz 'Ali and Mir Hasan 'Ali, to Mir Md. J'afar to interview the Nawāb through the mediation of Mir Md. J'afar and profess to him their master's obedience. They arrived at Mir Md. J'afar's camp, when the Nawāb's army was staying at Katwa on return from the jungle, and were presented by him to the Nawāb, in whose train they reached Murshidabad.

After discussion it was settled that Mir Habib, accepting the service of 'Alivardi, would receive from the Nawāb the deputy governorship of Orissā; he would give the income from the country (*i.e.*, revenue collection) to the army of Raghu as their pay (*tanikhā*). In

addition to this, twelve lakhs of rupees would be paid (every year) by the agents of the Nawāb to Raghu's servants in Benares, on condition that he would not set foot again in the territory of the Nawāb. The Maratha army should recognise the Suvarnarekhā river, on which Jālesar stands as their frontier, and must not step into the stream with the desire of crossing it. The peace [82*b*] having settled in this way, Mirzā Sālih was sent back with gifts to Mir Habib.

This treaty having given the Nawāb peace of mind in respect of the Marathas, and no other enemy being in sight, he reduced his army, turned to putting an end to the old troubles¹, and determining to ameliorate the condition of all the people, engaged in providing the instruments necessary for that purpose. Medinipur was by this peace annexed to the province of Bengal. It had remained safe from the possession and oppression of the enemy. The faujdāri of the place was given to Rājā Rām, the dārogha of the Nawāb's *harkāras* (spies), and the post of darogha was given to his brother Narayan Singh.

XXIX

When 'Atāullah Khān Sābit Jang, after coming away from Bengal, reached the province of Oudh, he wished to see Rājā Nawal Rāi, who was the all-powerful governor of that province [83*a*] on behalf of Safdar Jang, and the chief pillar of his State. Nawal Rāi greatly appreciated his merits at the first interview and treated him well. 'Atāullah knowing Nawal Rāi's great influence with Safdar Jang, hoped to rise high in that Nawāb's service through the backing of the former. . . . But fate ordained it otherwise, his ambition was not fulfilled, and he died at this very time. It happened in this way:—

Under the Emperor Āhmad Shāh, the eunuch Jāvid Khān, surnamed Nawāb Bahādur, wielded supreme power in the affairs of the State. At this time Sa'dullah Khān, son of 'Ali Md. Ruhela, had slain 'Azmatullah Kh., the collector of Bareilly, at the instigation of Safdar Jang the wazir. Qāim Kh., son of Md. Kh. Bangash, [83*b*] who had at this time sought the protection of Jāvid Khān, was Safdar Jang's enemy. Jāvid Kh. wrote to Qāim Kh. to root out Sa'dullah Kh., whose territory would then be given to him. Qāim Kh. who had always wished for this territory, after preparations set out to fight Sa'dullah Khān. Safdar Jang who did not like this move, pleaded with Āhmad Shāh that Sa'dullah was guiltless, and taking the Emperor with himself came out of Delhi for supporting Sa'dullah. At this time

¹ *Jarr-i-hazar-i-ātrāt-i-sābiq*—marking the last letter of a word with the vowel *hazra*.

Safdar Jang received news of Qāim Kh. having been slain and Sa'dullah being victorious. He sent the Emperor back to Delhi and himself turned towards Farrukhabad for escheating the money and belongings of the Afghans and taking control of their country. After arriving there, he killed or imprisoned the remaining chiefs of the Afghans, and after slaying some of the descendants of the Bangash and throwing others into prison, ordered all their property to be seized. Then placing his own kotwāl in Farrukhabad, he entrusted to Nawal Rāj the government of that province, and returned to Delhi.

Nawal Rāi constantly treated the Afghans with extreme [84a] lordliness and made intolerable exactions from them, so that their life was put to hard straits. At this time Āhmad Khān, the son of Md. Kh. Bangash, who had gone to Safdar Jang after quarrelling with his brother and had been granted by him a stipend, came back with Safdar Jang's leave to Farrukhabad after the death of Qāim Khān. The Afghans were half dead from the rigour and oppression of Nawal Rāi, and now Rustam Khān who had been a trusted military chief in the times of Md. Kh. and Qāim Kh. assembled the dispersed Afghan sardārs and took counsel, saying, "Nawal Rāi is determined not to leave a single Afghan alive and to inflict every kind of disgrace and dishonour (of women) on their tribe. In these circumstances if you unite your scattered forces and join in attacking the enemy, in case we win our wish will be satisfied ; and if otherwise, it is better to be slain in battle than to live thus under a thousand disgraces. The Afghans unanimously agreed to the proposal of Rustam Kh. Placing Āhmad Khān, who had just then arrived, at their head they engaged in increasing their force and collecting war materials.

When the news of it reached Nawal Rāi he did not take [84b] it seriously, and reported it to Safdar Jang, who sent Ism'ail Khān, one of his trusted chiefs to reinforce Nawal Rāi. In the meantime the Afghans, having assembled their dispersed groups, came out of Farrukhabad to fight. Nawal Rāi also set out against them with such soldiers as he had with himself. The two armies came close together, and Ism'ail Khān too arrived only one march (from Nawal Rāi's position.) Nawal Rāi who was a brave Hindu, did not wish to take any one else's aid. So he set out alone to attack the Afghans : the latter advanced in full strength and equipment, and a battle began. The victory fell to the Afghans, and Nawal Rāi, after the defeat of his troops, fought so firmly that he was killed. 'Atāullah Khān too was slain after fighting most heroically. After this when Safdar Jang came from Delhi to put an end to the calamity and punish the Afghans, he was defeated and went back to Delhi. He later came

with full forces and [85a] crushed them—which I need not narrate as irrelevant here.

Safdar Jang, in consideration of the devotion which Sābit Jang had shown in this battle, and wishing also to respect the feelings of 'Alivardi, allowed Sābit Jang's surviving family to come back to Bengal, without escheating their property, which must have amounted to lakhs. Rābi'a Begam reached Murshidabad in safety with her children and property, came to her uncle, and passed her days in comfort.

XXX

In these years, Bhairo Dat, the Diwān of Bengal, died of dropsy. His *peshkār* Ummed Rām discharged the duties of the diwāni department according to the Nawāb's directions, without being given that post. Rājā Kirat Chand, whose father Rāi-i-rāiān 'Ālam Chand had been Diwān of Bengal under Shujā-'ud-daulah, and who had been diwān of the Bihār subah under Zainuddin Āhmad Kh., but had retired to Benares when Haibat Jang was slain, was now called to Murshidabad by 'Alivardi and appointed Diwān of Bengal. Ummed Rām continued as his [85b] *peshkār*. Rājā Kirat Chand, during his diwāni took more than a *kror* of rupees over and above the fixed revenue from the *chakla* of Bardwān and put it in the public treasury, which greatly pleased 'Alivardi. After serving as diwān for nearly two years, he died of piles. Ummed Rām during his *peshkāri* had very favourably impressed 'Alivardi by his ability, honesty and knowledge of the work : he was now appointed Diwān of Bengal with the title of Rāi-i-rāiān.

In these years, Rājā Jānaki Rām, the deputy subahdār of Bihār on behalf of the Nawāb, died. His son, Rājā Durlabh Rām, who held the office of diwān of *tan*, received robes of condolence. Rām Nārāyan was appointed deputy governor of Bihār, and his agent at Court was Rājā Durlabh Rām. [86a]

XXXI

Marriage of Shukrullah and death of Ākrāmuddaulah in this year (1751).—

Saulat Jang with all the materials for the marriage of his daughter to Shukrullah, arrived at Murshidabad from Purniā. Nafisa Begam too prepared the *sachaq*¹ with the greatest splendour. They waited

¹ *Sachaq*, the plant *henna* (*Lawsonia inermis*) which yields a red dye when squeezed, presented to a bride for colouring her fingers and toes on the day of marriage. It is accompanied by wedding gifts of various kinds. Hindustani, *henna bandi*; in Bengali turmeric (*halud*) paste.

for the auspicious day fixed for the ceremony, when Haibat Jang's daughter died. As this girl was a grand-daughter of 'Alivardi, the whole family was deeply grieved. So Saulat Jang wished to put his daughter's marriage off to the next year, and returned to Purniā. But all the members of 'Alivardi's family, especially Shahāmat Jang and Bibi Ghasiti, held Nafisa Begam very dear. So it [86b] was decided that when forty days had passed after the death of the daughter of Zainuddin Ahmad Kh., the *sāchaq* ceremony would be performed. Saulat Jang therefore postponed his departure for Purniā and waited for the auspicious day. But when nearly a month had passed after the girl's death and both parties again engaged in making marriage preparations, a severer calamity than the first took place.

Ākrāmuddaulah, 'Alivardi's daughter's son, and son of Zainuddin Ahmad Khan, whom Shahāmat Jang had adopted as his son and loved to an extreme, so much so that he became restless if the lad was out of his sight for a moment and had no peace of mind or rest until he came back, conjuring up in his mind (groundless) fears of some calamity befalling himself or some other person—which would require volumes to describe in detail—fell ill of small pox. At the same time the day fixed for the *sāchaq* arrived; both parties had been (long) preparing articles of display and enjoyment for this occasion, and the illness of Ākrāmuddaulah daily (increased). But in order to please Nafisa Begam, who wished [87a] with all her heart to utilise the chosen auspicious day by every possible means and not let the marriage lapse, (they pushed on their preparations).

But there is no remedy against fate. At the time when the articles of the *sāchaq* accompanied by thousands of lamps of great beauty and decoration, were standing ready for [77a] being sent to Saulat Jang's house, and some ladies of the bridegroom's family had gone to the bride's house (to deliver the *sāchaq*), and conveyances were standing ready to take 'Alivardi, Shahāmat Jang, and others there, the condition of Ākrāmuddaulah suddenly turned worse, and on the ninth day of the appearance of the pox, suffering extreme agony from the length of his illness, he began to scratch the pustules, and died at once. Extreme grief of all; rejoicing was turned into mourning.

Shahāmat Jang, tearing up the shirt of self-restraint and patience, rolled on the ground. The materials of the *sāchaq*, which had been prepared with so much decoration and splendour, and kept standing in the roads and bazārs waiting for the bridegroom's party's procession were in the twinkling of an eye plundered by the hooligans of the bazār. After [77b] this Saulat Jang returned to Purniā in disappointment.

XXXII

The quarrel between Sirājuddaulah and Husain Quli Khān.—As has been already narrated, Husain Quli Kh., was a follower of Shahāmat Jang, enjoying great power. As his acts were based on sagacity, penetration, dissimulation and cunning, many men professed devotion and partisanship to him. In the opinion of men of penetrating judgment, the signs indicated that he would become a claimant (to supreme power)¹ as Shahāmat Jang was wanting in the capacity for governing and the art of administration. Sirājuddaulah regarded himself as the heir to the kingdom and public wealth after 'Alivardi. He had no ground to fear anything from Shahāmat Jang, but being uneasy in mind about Husain Quli Kh. for the above reasons, planned to overthrow him. And every time he proclaimed the hostility of Husain Quli to himself,—which was not really such as he caused to noise abroad among the public—by means of his measures of self protection.

For example, one day on the occasion of the Nauroz festival, when he went from his own mansion to the Nawāb, as he was passing by Husain Quli's house, the sound of the [78a] firing of some muskets—which had been discharged by his own (secret) order,—was heard. Immediately Sirājuddaulah in great anger went to his grandfather and complained of this matter. The ill-feeling was carried to such a point that (Sirāj) wanted to leave Bengal and go to the Emperor. In this matter, 'Alivardi also placated the mind of Sirāj, because for the reasons given above the Nawāb too was not well-disposed towards Husain Quli Khān, but as Bibi Ghasiti was his supporter none dared to kill him.

Shahāmat Jang made Husain Quli take solemn oaths of loyalty (to Sirāj). 'Alivardi, who loved to keep Bibi Ghasiti and Shahāmat Jang pleased, became a means of allaying the hostility of Sirāj, held him back from the public expression of his ill-feeling, and ordered the quarrel to be made up. In this manner many acts on the part of Sirājuddaulah took place, till on the day of the *punyā* a strange incident happened, which is briefly described next.

Punyā is the name of the commencement of the revenue-collection of Bengal, at the beginning of the (financial) year, which falls according to the Hindu almanac in the month of Chait or beginning of Baisākh,—which means the end of the Sun's being in the sign Aries or the beginning of Taurus. On this day the arrears of the year's collection in cash [78b] amounting to six or seven lakhs of rupees are brought in bags and placed before (the Nawāb). As for

¹ Text doubtful.

the balance, in [87a] the kingdom of Bengal if anything remained outstanding from the 'āmilis and the zamindārs, Jagat Seth, the chief banker of the country, gave his written undertaking to pay the amount to the Government of the Nāzim. And the entire class of big zamindars and many of the officers (*āhal-i-kār*) and clerks (*mutasaddi*), numbering nearly four hundred persons, nay more, on that day, according to their different ranks, received *khil'ats*. On this day a grand festivity (*jashan*) and vast gathering took place.

In short, on that day, when the *Punyā* assembly was being held in the palace, the Nawāb was seated under a canopy of gold-embroidered cloth supported by gold-plated (*talāyer*) poles, on a richly adorned cushion (*masnad*) with a gold-embroidered bolster and *awasfa*¹ of gold. Shahāmat Jang, Husain Quli Kh., and other nobles and ministers, were present, every one in his proper place. At this time Sirājuddaulah fully armed, with a steel helmet on his head, a coat of mail (called *baktar* in Hindi) on his body, came in [87b] with a party of his followers, and took post in the wing where Husain Quli Kh. was seated. After a short time the musketeers who had been standing with his conveyance outside the big gate, began to enter two and two, four and four at a time, with their matches lighted.

At this time, Barkhurdār Beg who used to regard himself as a master of arms², and had come armed in the company of Sirājuddaulah, suddenly rose from his place and going up to 'Alivardi asked "What orders?" The Nawāb who knew nothing of the secret of the matter, asked "In what affair?" Then Ghulām Husain Khān, with great audacity, told the Nawāb, "The musketeers of Sirājuddaulah with lighted matches are entering the palace", and Barkhurdār Beg again spoke to the Nawab, "I shall do what you order."

'Alivardi seeing that the darbār had assumed a different colour, told Ghulām Husain Khan, "Don't allow the musketeers of Sirājuddaulah to enter the palace, and turn out those who have already entered." He turned to Barkhurdār Beg, and asked, "You have not been told of any business. For what are [88a] you seeking my permission?" Not seeing it advisable for himself to stay longer in such a place at such a time, he immediately rose up and went into his private chamber. After this Sirājuddaulah's treacherous plan became a matter of public knowledge, and Shahāmat Jang and Husain Quli Khān began to complain.

'Alivardi publicly censured Sirājuddaulah for this step, but in a private audience told him, "People who having come for destroying their enemy, carry out their plan to execution, are not of this kind.

¹ *Awarja* would mean, a book of receipts and disbursements.

² *Az ārbāb-i-silāh migirišt*. I take it to mean *silāh-dār* or sword-bearer.

It is an illustration of your inexperience, because slaying Husain Quli Khān in this manner would cause a great tumult. It was very likely that great injuries (wounds) would have been inflicted on me and all the assembled people and the money would have been plundered. In every way do not attempt such impracticable (unprofitable) steps which cannot fulfil your object."

XXXIII

Other incidents of the year 1168 A.H. (18th Oct. 1754—6th Oct. 1755). The disgrace of Khwāja 'Abdul Hādī and the conferment of the bakhshigari of the sair on Fāiz 'Alī Kh. Khurāsāni.—

After Khwāja 'Abdul Hādī had gained full power and stability in the post of bakhshi, he out of meanness of spirit, began to show signs of opinionativeness and self-conceit, [88b] so much so that he did not observe the rules of etiquette in speaking and writing to the Nawāb. Thus, one day 'Alivardi remarked in his darbar, "There is a holy tradition, which means, 'Very soon my followers will be separated into 33 sects, all of which are doomed to perdition, except one only'. And now in the opinion of the Sunnis the followers of all the four sects whose priests are recognised by them, are to be considered as saved" Khwāja 'Abdul Hādī, though he knew that the Nawāb was a Shia', recklessly replied without restraining himself, "All these four sects of the Sunnis are by nature one; all the other sects besides these are doomed to perdition." Though the Nawāb was displeased with the reply, he chose to be silent on that occasion.

About the same time, another day in the course of conversation the Khwāja said to the Nawāb, "Your Highness, has . . . me (Here f. 88b abruptly ends.) [89a]

XXXIV

After the death of Mahābat Jang, on 10th Rajab 1170 (10th April 1756) Sirājuddaulah seated himself on the throne of Bengal. Bibi Ghasiti, the daughter of the late Nawāb, had got control over the diwāni of Bengal after the death of her husband Nawāzish Md. Khān. In her father's last illness, she took up her residence in the palace of Moti Jhil in fear of Sirājuddaulah. Sirāj planned to overthrow her. Bibi Ghasiti opened her hand in liberality and making gifts, and assembled all her followers, like Mir Qudratullah, Mir Sharfuddin, Mirzā Ghulām 'Alī . . . (The remainder of the Br. Mus. ms has not been photographed for this translation).





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